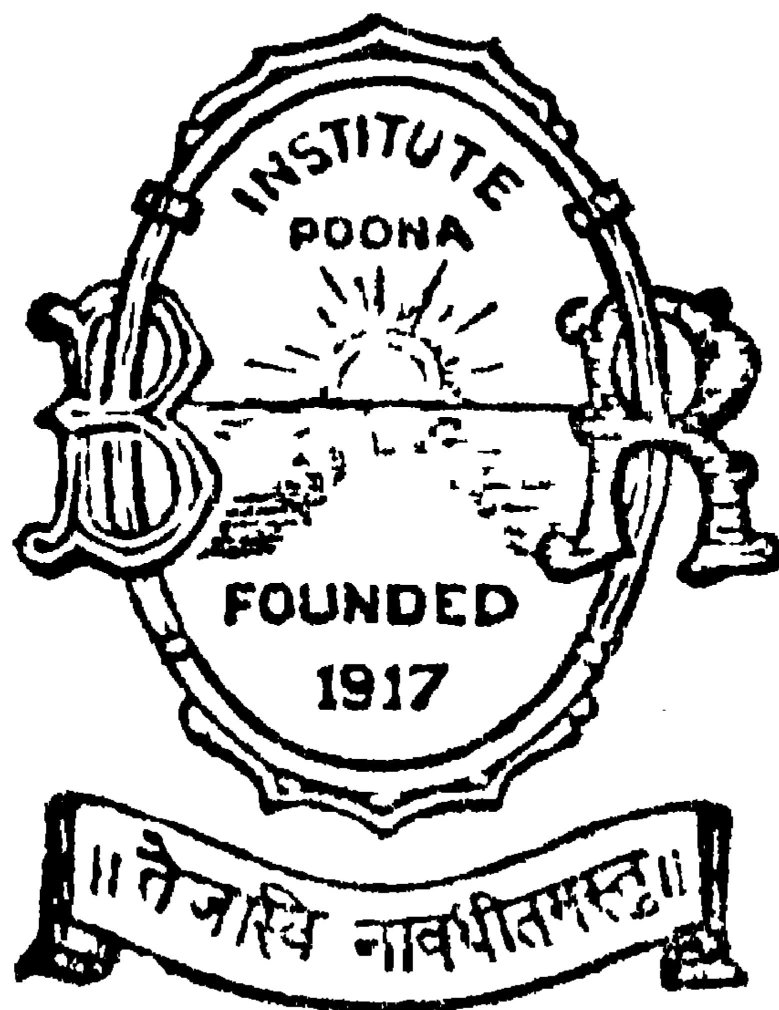
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Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

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THE HOME OF THE VĀKĀṬAKAS*

BY

V. V. MIRASHI

The Vākāṭakas were one of the most glorious dynasties that flourished in South India in ancient times. Their empire at one time extended from the Narmadā in the north to the Tuṅgabhadrā in the south and from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. They were great patrons of literature. The liberal patronage they gave to Sanskrit and Prakrit poets soon brought the Vaidarbhī and Vacchomī[1] *rītis* into prominence and induced great poets like Kālidāsa to adopt them for their works. They themselves composed *kāvyas* and *subhāṣitas* which have evoked praise from famous poets and rhetoricians like Bāṇa and Daṇḍin, Kuntaka and Hemacandra.[2] The temples they erected are no longer in existence, but the sculptures found in their ruins, some of which I brought to the notice of scholars only two years ago,[3] have attracted the attention of art-critics

* Address delivered at the Bhandarkar Institute on 6th September, 1951, on the occasion of the 26th Anniversary of R. G. Bhandarkar.

1 *Vacchomī* (Sanskrit, *Vātsagulmī*), which derives its name from the Vākāṭaka capital Vatsagulma, is mentioned by Rājaśekhara as a synonym of *Vaidarbhī*. See *Karpūramañjarī*, I, i.

2 See my article 'Some Royal Poets of the Vākāṭaka Age' in *I. H. Q.*, XXI, pp. 193 f.

3 For some of them see my article 'Ancient Remains at Pavnar' (Marathi) in *D. V. Potdar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 1 ff.

who rank them among the best specimens of ancient times. The magnificent *vihāra* and *caitya* caves, which their feudatories and ministers excavated out of solid rock and decorated with sculptures and picture-galleries at Ajaṇṭā, still excite the admiration of the world. In view of these achievements, there is hardly any exaggeration in the following observation of Prof. J. Dubreuil :— 'Of all the dynasties of the Deccan that have reigned from the third to the sixth century, the most glorious, the most important, the one that must be given the place of honour, the one that has excelled all others, the one that has had the greatest influence on the civilization of the whole of the Deccan is unquestionably the illustrious dynasty of the Vākāṭakas.'[1]

Still, the existence and even the name of this illustrious dynasty had passed into oblivion and became known only when a copper-plate grant, called the Seoni plates of Pravarasena II, was discovered in Madhya Pradesh in 1836.[2] Vindhyaśakti, the founder of this dynasty, was indeed mentioned in the Purāṇas, but partly owing to bad readings and partly due to misconstruction he was believed to belong to the Yavana or Greek race. Even after deciphering the inscription in Ajaṇṭā cave XVI which gives the royal genealogy from the earliest time to the last Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa, Dr. Bhau Daji remarked in 1862 that 'the Vākāṭakas were a dynasty of the Yavanas or Greeks who took the lead in the performance of Vedic sacrifices as well as in the execution of most substantial and costly works for the encouragement of Buddhism'.[3] It has since been pointed out that Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the dynasty, is described in that inscription as a *dvija* or Brāhmaṇa. The *gotra* Viṣṇuvṛddha of the Vākāṭakas is also mentioned in all their copper-plate grants. It is now generally accepted that like the Sātavāhanas, the Vākāṭakas also were a Brāhmaṇa family that rose into prominence in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The period during which the Vākāṭakas flourished had long been uncertain. Unlike the Guptas, they did not start any era, but

1 Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 71.
2 *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. V (1836), pp. 726 ff.
3 *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. VII, pp. 69 f.

dated all their grants in regnal years. Their age had therefore to be conjectured from the characters of their inscriptions. Almost all Vākāṭaka grants are incised in box-headed characters which soon became stereotyped. Experts therefore differed on the interpretation of their palaeographic evidence. Dr. Bühler referred Vākāṭaka grants to the 5th century A. D.[1] while Fleet and Kielhorn, whose opinion Sukthankar cited with approval, assigned them to the 8th century A. D.[2] The latter view appeared to be supported by the mention, in Vākāṭaka grants, of *Mahārājādhirāja* Devagupta as the maternal grandfather of Pravarasena II. Fleet identified this Devagupta with *Mahārājādhirāja* Devagupta of Magadha, the son of Ādityasena, mentioned in the Deo-Barṇārka inscription,[3] who flourished towards the close of the seventh century A. D. The Vākātakas were therefore believed to have ruled in the 7th and 8th centuries A. D. This estimate of their age proved to be wide of the mark by the discovery, in 1912, of the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, which Prof. K. B. Pathak and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit first briefly noticed in the *Indian Antiquary* (1912), pp. 215 f. and later edited fully in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, pp. 39 f. These plates explicitly mention that Prabhāvatīguptā, the chief queen (*agra-mahiṣī*) of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II and mother of the crown-prince Divākarasena, was the daughter of the illustrious Gupta king *Mahārājādhirāja* Candragupta II. These plates, though discovered with a coppersmith of Poona, really belong to the Hiṅgaṇghāṭ *tahsīl* of the Wardha District in Berar as I have shown elsewhere.[4] The places mentioned in that grant could not be identified at the time, but the matrimonial relation of the Vākāṭakas and Guptas explicitly stated therein placed Vākāṭaka chronology on a sound basis. Thereafter Vincent Smith, who had not written a single line on this dynasty in his *Early History of India*, (third ed., pub. in 1914) wrote a long article on it in *J. R. A. S.* (1914), setting forth with his characteristic precision and clarity the available evidence of copper-plate grants and stone inscriptions,

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1 *A. S. W. I.*, IV, p. 119
2 *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Introd. p. 15.
3 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 213 f.
4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 158. f.

and giving a history of the dynasty based on it. Later Prof. J. Dubreuil[1] and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar[2] threw more light on the history of this royal family. It was, however, the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal who brought the Vākāṭakas into prominence and assigned them their rightful place in the ancient history of India. In the book *History of India, 150 A. D. to 350 A. D.* to which he gave the significant name 'Nāga-Vākāṭaka Imperial Period,' Jayaswal tried to show that 'imperial rule and paramount sovereignty had been in the hands and keeping of the Vākāṭakas full sixty years before Samudragupta.'[3] According to Jayaswal, Pravarasena I, the son of Vindhyaśakti, evolved a clear political thesis. His thesis was – a Hindu Empire for the whole of India and the enthronement of the Śāstras. Secondly, a literary movement in favour of Sanskrit begins about 250 A. D. and in 50 years reaches a pitch at which the Guptas take it up. Thirdly, revival of *Varṇāśramadharma* and Hindu orthodoxy is emphasised very pointedly; it was the cry of the time. The society under the Vākāṭaka imperialism was seeking to purge the abuses crept in under the Kuṣāṇa rule. It was a Hindu Puritan Movement which was greatly fostered and which received a wide imperial implication under Pravarasena I. Fourthly, under the Vākāṭakas the art of sculpture and the graphic art of Ajaṇṭā which lay under their direct government were vivified. ... The credit of the revival of Hindu art which had been universally attributed by the present-day writers wholly to the Guptas, like the credit of Sanskrit revival, really belongs to the Vākāṭakas.[4] Many of Jayaswal's theories about the Nāgas, Vākāṭakas and Pallavas have been shown by sober criticism to be untenable. I shall also have to criticise his theory about the original home of the Vākāṭakas; but there is no doubt that his powerful advocacy of the Vākāṭakas brought that dynasty into prominence and served to obtain recognition for their achievements.

Further progress in our knowledge of the history of the Vākāṭakas was made in 1939 by the discovery of a copper-plate

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1 Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 71 f.

2 Aiyangar, *Ancient India* (pub. by Sardesai), Vol. I, pp. 91 f.

3 Jayaswal, *History of India*, 150 *A. D.* -350 *A. D.*, p. 5.

4 *Ibid* p. 95.

grant of the Vākāṭaka king Vindhyaśakti II at Bāsim (or Vāshīm) in the Akolā District of Berar. Before this discovery all writers who wrote on the Vākāṭakas believed that there was only one line of succession in the Vākāṭaka dynasty,[1] notwithstanding the explicit statement in the Purāṇas that Pravīra, the son of Vindhyaśakti, who is plainly identical with the Vākāṭaka *Samrāṭ* Pravarasena I, had four sons, all of whom came to the throne,[2] and the discrepant evidence of the inscription in Ajaṇṭā Cave XVI which, mutilated as it is, did not seem to give quite the same line of succession as the copper-plate grants.[3] From the Bāsim plates, which I edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 137 ff., I showed for the first time that the Vākātaka family branched off after the death of Pravarasena I. The statement in the Purāṇas that he had four sons is probably correct. Two of these are known—(i) Gautamīputra who predeceased his father and whose son Rudrasena I succeeded his grandfather; and (ii) Sarvasena whose son Vindhyaśakti II issued the Bāsim plates. I also showed from the inscription in Ajaṇṭā Cave XVI which I redeciphered from fresh estampages that the record contained the names, now partly mutilated, of the princes Sarvasena and Vindhyasena, the latter being evidently identical with Vindhyaśakti II who issued the Bāsim plates. It would seem therefore that the extensive empire of Pravarsena I was divided among his sons after his death. His grandson Rudrasena I obtained Northern Vidarbha as his patrimony and ruled from the old capital Nandivardhana. Sarvasena, the second son, obtained Southern Vidarbha extending to the Godāvarī. Where the other two sons were ruling is not yet known. They may have held the country south of the Godāvarī. Their rule seems to have come to an end by the rise of the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭas in Kuntala. I have shown in my article on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura

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1 S. K. Aiyangar thought that there was a dispute about succession after the death of Pravarasena II, and Narendrasena probably took the kingdom from an elder brother. *Ancient India*, p. 114.

2 Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 50.

3 For this see *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 128. The names of Vākāṭaka princes mentioned in the Ajaṇṭā inscription have to be revised as shown by me in my edition of the inscription in the Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 14

published in the *Annals* of the Institute[1] that Mānāṅka, the progenitor of this Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, flourished about A. D. 400 and ruled from Mānapura which is probably identical with Māṇ on the Māṇ river in the Sātārā District.

From this rèsumè of Vākāṭaka history it will be seen how our knowledge of this royal family has increased bit by bit during the last hundred years. There are still some problems which await solution. One of these, the original home of the Vākāṭakas, I intend to take up for discussion here.

The Vākāṭakas are generally believed to be of northern origin. Thus, Vincent Smith, in his aforementioned article, says, 'If Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasena are the same persons as Vindhya-śakti and Pravīra of the Purāṇas, the origin of the family might be sought somewhere in the area now known as Central India.[2]' Jayaswal went one step further and derived the dynastic name *Vākāṭaka* from the place-name *Vakāṭa* or *Vākāṭa* on the analogy of *Traikūṭaka* which is plainly formed from *Trikūṭa*. He identified this Vākāṭa, the supposed home-land of the Vākāṭakas, with Bāgāt, 'a village in the northernmost part of the former Orchha State, six miles east of Chirgaon in the District of Jhansi.[3]' 'The Brāhmaṇa,' says Jayaswal, 'who according to the Purāṇas, was the first annointed king and the founder of the dynasty and who assumed the appropriate appellation of Vindhyaśakti, adopted the name of his town as his dynastic title.' The northern origin of the Vākāṭakas has been tacitly admitted by almost all scholars who have written on this subject.[4] I therefore propose to examine critically the evidence on which it is based.

(1) The main basis of this theory of the northern origin of the Vākāṭakas is the following passage in the Purāṇas :—

नृपान्वैदेशिकांश्चापि भविष्यांस्तु निबोधत ।
शेषस्य नागराजस्य पुत्रः परपुरञ्जयः ॥

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1 Vol. XXV, pp. 36 ff.

2 *J. R. A. S.* (1914), p. 329.

3 Jayaswal, *History of India*, etc., pp. 67 f.

4 In his chapter on the Vākāṭakas in *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI. p.96, Dr. Altekar keeps this question open though he appears inclined to hold that the family had its original home south of the Vindhyas.

भोगी भविष्यते राजा नृपो नागकुलोद्वहः ।
सदाचन्द्रस्तु चन्द्रांशो द्वितीयो नखवांस्तथा ॥
धनधर्मा ततश्चापि चतुर्थो वङ्गरः स्मृतः ।
भूतिनन्दस्ततश्चापि वैदिशे तु भविष्यति ॥
तस्य भ्राता यवीयांस्तु नाम्ना नन्दियशाः किल ।
तस्यान्वये भविष्यन्ति राजानस्ते त्रयस्तु वै ॥
दौहित्रः शिशुको नाम पुरिकायां नृपोऽभवत् ।
विन्ध्यशक्तिसुतश्चापि प्रवीरो नाम वीर्यवान् ।
भोक्ष्यते च समाः षष्टिं पुरीं काञ्चनकां च वै ।
यक्ष्यते वाजपेयैश्च समाप्तवरदक्षिणैः ॥
तस्य पुत्रास्तु चत्वारो भविष्यन्ति नराधिपाः ।

This passage[1] is introduced with the words 'Hear also the future rulers of Vidiśā', and mentions towards the close the names of Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra who are undoubtedly kings of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. It has therefore been supposed that Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra ruled somewhere in Central India, not far form Vidiśā, modern Besnagar near Bhilsā. This passage mentions several kings; but none of them, with the exception of the two mentioned above, are known from any other source. Besides, it is not clear how far the scope of the introductory statement नृपान्वैदेशिकांश्चापि भविष्यांस्तु निबोधत extends. That all the kings mentioned in this passage were *not* of Vidiśā was realised by Pargiter also, who gave the heading 'Dynasties of Vidiśā etc.' to it. It is noteworthy that the passage introduces Śiśuka, the ruler of Purikā in verse 5. Purikā, we know from the *Harivaṁśa*,[2] was situated at the foot of the Ṛkṣavat mountain which is usually identified with the Sātpurā range. The town was therefore situated south of the Vindhyas. Pravīra (or Pravarasena I), the son of Vindhyaśakti, is mentioned in this passage immediately after Śiśuka, probably because that Vākāṭaka prince

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[1] Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, pp. 49–50.

[2] Cf. *Harivaṁśa* Viṣṇuparvan, 38, 22 – ऋक्षवन्तं समभितस्तीरे तत्र निरामये । निर्मिता सा पुरी राज्ञा पुरिका नाम नामतः ॥ Ṛkṣavat is mentioned in the Viṣṇupurāṇa as the source of Tāpī, Payoṣṇī and Nirvindhyā and therefore corresponds to the Sātpurā mountain. Cf. तापीपयोष्णीनिर्विन्ध्याप्रमुखा ऋक्षसम्भवाः ॥

succeeded the latter in that territory., It is noteworthy in this connection that Purikā appears to be mentioned as a capital of Pravīra in the next verse. Pargiter gives the following reading of it:—

विन्ध्यशक्तिसुतश्चापि प्रवीरो नाम वीर्यवान् ।
भोक्ष्यते समाः षष्टिं पुरीं काञ्चनकां च वै ॥

If this reading is adopted, the name of the Vākāṭaka capital would be Kāñcanakā, but this reading would make the particle *ca* meaningless and inserted in the line merely for *pāda-pūraṇa.* I therefore adopt Jayaswal's ingenious emendation भोक्ष्यते च समाः षष्टिं पुरिकां चनकां च वै । meaning that Pravarasena ruled from two capitals Purikā and Canakā. The verse, if thus read, would satisfactorily explain why the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena is mentioned immediately after Śiśuka. He evidently annexed the latter's kingdom and made Purikā a second capital of his empire which then extended to the Vindhyas in the north. This passage in the Purāṇas does not therefore give any indication that the Vākāṭakas originally belonged to Central India.

(2) Another argument which is sometimes advanced to prove the northern origin of the Vākāṭakas is the identification of Rudradeva mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta with Rudrasena I of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. This implies the existence of the Vākāṭaka empire in North India during the reigns of the early kings of Rudrasena I and his grandfather Pravarasena I. The identification however is extremely unlikely. Rudradeva, who is mentioned in that inscription as a king of Āryāvarta exterminated by Samudragupta, must have been previously ruling north of the Vindhyas. We have however no inscription of the reign of the Vākāṭaka Rudrasena I or of any earlier king of that dynasty from North India. The only record of Rudrasena I discovered so far is the stone inscription found at Deoṭek in the Chanda District of Madhya Pradesh, which I edited for the first time in 1935.[1] Rudrasena I was therefore ruling in Vidarbha, not in Central India. Besides, as Dr. Altekar has already observed, if Rudrasena I had been exterminated by Samudragupta, it is extremely unlikely that his son

[1] *Proceedings of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference*, pp. 613 f.

Pṛthivīṣeṇa I would ever have selected a Gupta princess (*viz.*, Prabhāvatīguptā) to be his daughter-in-law.[1] For all these reasons, the identification of Rudradeva of the Allahabad pillar inscription with the Vākāṭaka Rudrasena I is extremely doubtful and it cannot substantiate the northern origin of the Vākāṭaka.

(3) The surest indication of the rule of any king in a particular territory is the original find-spots of his stone inscriptions. Copper-plates and coins are easily carried from place to place and are sometimes found hundreds of miles away from their original places. Stone inscriptions are not generally transported in this manner. (Now, there is not a single stone inscription of any Vākāṭaka king found north of the Vindhyas. Two stone inscriptions of a prince named Vyāghradeva, who describes himself as 'meditating on the feet of the Vākāṭaka Pṛthivīṣeṇa,' have however been discovered in Central India – one at Nachne-ki-talai in the former Jaso State and the other at Ganj in the former Ajaygarh State. This Pṛthivīṣeṇa is identified by some scholars with the first Vākāṭaka king of that name who flourished in the period A. D. 350-400. These records are sometimes cited to prove that the Vākāṭakas had an empire north of the Vindhyas prior to that of the Guptas. The identification is, however, disproved by palaeographic evidence; for as shown by the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the characters of that inscription are of a later age.[2] Besides, there is no other vestige of the extension of Vākāṭaka supremacy in that region as early as the reign of Pṛthivīṣeṇa I. As shown by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil, Vyāghradeva of the aforementioned Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions is probably identical with the Uccakalpa prince of the same name mentioned in the grants of his son Jayanātha who flourished in the last quarter of the fifth century A. D.[3] His suzerain Pṛthivīṣeṇa was therefore the second Vākāṭaka king of that name who flourished from about A. D. 470 to A. D. 490. That the Vākāṭakas had extended their supremacy north of the Vindhyas during the reign of Pṛthivīṣeṇa II's father Narendrasena is also known from

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1 *A New History of the Indian People*, p. 105.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, p. 362.

3 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV, pp. 103 ff.

the expression *Kosalā-Mekalā-Mqlav-ābhyarccita-śāsanaḥ* used to describe Narendrasena in the Balāghat plates.[1] This is again *confirmed by the recently* published Bamhani plates of the Pāṇḍava-vaṁśī king Bharatabala who covertly refers to his suzerain Narendrasena.[2] This Bharatabala ruled in Mekalā as stated explicitly in that grant. No other king of the name Vyāghra is known to have ruled in Central India in the age of the Vākāṭakas. Vyāghradeva of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions therefore belonged to the Uccakalpa dynasty and was a feudatory of the Vākāṭaka Pṛthivīṣena II and not of Pṛthivīṣena I, who flourished nearly 120 years earlier. These inscriptions do not therefore evidence any early rule of the Vākāṭakas, much less their homeland, north of the Vindhyas.

(4) As stated before, the find-spots of copper-plates and coins afford no sure proof of the rule of any dynasty in a particular territory. Still, their evidence also has to be considered in the absence of other proofs. The only copper-plate grant of the Vākāṭakas said to have been found in North India is that recorded on the so-called Indore plates of Pravarasena II.[3] These plates were found in the collection of the late Pandit Vamanshastri Islampurkar. It is well known that the Pandit was engaged in collecting old Sanskrit manuscripts and historical records from different parts of the country. I have shown elsewhere that two other grants found in his collection at Indore were originally from Khandesh and the places mentioned in them can also be satisfactorily located in Khandesh.[4] As all other copper-plate grants of the Vākāṭakas discovered so far originally came from Madhya Pradesh, this Indore copper-plate grant also, in all probability, belongs to the same part of the country. None of the places mentioned in it have been located in North India.

As for coins, Jayaswal drew attention to some coins of North Indian fabric which he attributed to the Vākāṭakas. The coin with the legend *Pravarasenasya* bears, according to Jayaswal,

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1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 271.
2 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, *p.* 137.
3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, 52 f.
4 *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 161.

the date 76 and that having the legend *Rudra*, the date 100.[1] Jayaswal referred these dates to the so-called Kalacuri-Cedi era commencing in A. D. 248, which, according to him, was really started by the Vākāṭakas.[2] If the readings of legends and dates and the identification of the era are correct, these coins may indicate the extension of Vākāṭaka rule north of the Vindhyas during the reigns of the early Vākāṭaka rulers Pravarasena I and Rudrasena I. But Jayaswal's readings and interpretaions have been disputed by other scholars. Dr. Altekar has shown that the coin attributed to Pravarasena I is really of Vīrasena. The symbols which Dr. Jayaswal supposed to be the date 76 are really the branches of a tree in railing. As for the coins of Rudrasena I, what he took to be the letters *Rudra* is really the *tri-ratna* symbol. The symbol supposed to denote the date 100 is clearly a *svastika*.[3] So these coins can not be attributed to any Vākāṭaka king. In fact the Vākāṭakas did not strike any coins, but used the currency of the Guptas throughout their kingdom. Several gold coins of Candragupta II have been found in Berar. The silver coins of the Western Ksatrapas also may have been current in their territory. Some hoards of Kṣatrapa coins have been found in the Chhīndwara and other districts of Madhya Pradesh. Again, even supposing that the readings of dates on these coins are correct, they can not be referred to the era of A. D. 248. That era was not started by the Vākāṭakas and has not been used in dating any Vākāṭakas grant. All inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas are dated in regnal years. As a matter of fact, the era was introduced in Vidarbha *after* the downfall of the Vākāṭakas. The only date of that era found in Vidarbha occurs in the recently discovered Nandivardhana plates[4] of Svāmirāja of the Rāṣṭrakuṭa lineage who was probably a feudatory of the Kalacuri king Kṛṣṇarāja.

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that neither the era nor the coins are of the Vākāṭakas. There is thus not an iota of evidence to prove that the Vākāṭakas originally hailed from North India.

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[1] *History of India, etc.*, pp. 52 f.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 108 ff.
[3] *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. V. pp. 130 f.
[4] These are under publication in *Ep. Ind.*

This of course knocks the bottom out of the brilliant theories of Dr. Jayaswal and reduces to some extent the glory of the Vākāṭakas, but this is inevitable.

I shall now place before you some facts which indicate that the original home of the dynasty was in the Deccan.

(1) The earliest mention of the name Vākāṭaka occurs in the following record incised on a fragment of an octagonal pillar at Amarāvatī in the Guṇṭur District in Āndhra-deśa.[1] It is in Prakrit and is in characters of about the third century A. D.[2]

Inscription No. 126—

Line 1 ... ... गामे वाथवस गहपतिस वाकाटकस गहपतिकि[नि]

2 ... ... ना थेरे न बोधिके न भारियाय चमुनार्य सभतुके हि

3 ... ... केहि सनतिमित वधवेहि च अपनो आयुवधनिक

The inscription is unfortunately fragmentary, but its extant portion shows that it was intended to record the gift of a *gṛhapati* (householder) named Vākāṭaka, and his two wives, one of whom was named Camunā. The gift was made at the instance of a *Thera* (Buddhist Bhikṣu) named Bodhika and for the longevity of their agnates (jñātis), friends and relatives. Vākāṭaka is used here as a *personal name* and *not* a family name. This will be clear from a comparison of this record with other records of the same type at Amarāvatī. Take for instance Inscription No. 32–

1 ... ... निलि गमिलकस गहपतिस

2 ... ... पुतस ज रेवतस ज ब[लि]काय

This inscription mentions the householder Gamilaka. That this is a personal name is undisputed. The wording of Inscription No. 126 is similar. This leaves no doubt that *Vākāṭaka* which occurs therein is a personal name.

The record shows that the *gṛhapati* Vākāṭaka had gone to Amarāvatī with his wives to make donations there for the longevity of himself, his wives and relatives. The name of his native village was mentioned in the beginning of the first line,

[1] See *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Govt. Museum*, p. 304, Inscription No. 126. The numbers of inscriptions cited below are from this book.

[2] For a facsimile of the inscription see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, plate facing p. 267.

but it is now lost. In view of the difficulties of travelling in those days it would not be wrong to infer that this *gṛhapati* Vākāṭaka was the resident of a country, not very far from Amarāvatī. It may be noted in this connection that the inscriptions discovered at Amarāvatī generally mention countries, rivers and places of South India such as Dravida, the Kṛṣṇā, the Godāvarī, Dhanakaṭaka and Kaṇṭakaśaila.[1] The only places of North India which I have noticed in the 126 inscriptions of Amarāvatī that have been published so far are Rājagṛha and Pāṭaliputra, mentioned as places of residence of monks, who or whose disciples made certain donations at Amarāvatī. The inference that Vākāṭaka mentioned in inscription No. 126 was a resident of South India would thus appear reasonable.

On palaeographic grounds this inscription has been referred to the third century A. D. The *gṛhapati* Vākāṭaka mentioned in it was not therefore far removed in time from Vindhyaśakti[2] who seems to have come into prominence about A. D. 250. This *gṛhapati* was in all probability the progenitor of the Vākāṭaka family even as Gupta was of the Gupta family. What social or official status he had we do not know; but he was apparently of sufficient importance to be regarded as the progenitor of the family. This Vākāṭaka was then a follower of Buddhism, but later on he or his descendants seem to have changed their religious faith and became staunch supporters of the Vedic religion. Several instances of such change of faith can be cited from the ancient history of India.

(2) There are several other indications of the southern origin of the Vākāṭakas. In my article on the Bāsim plates[3]

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[1] See the list of geographical names in *Amaravati Sculptures* etc., pp. 332 f. The names of the Gaṅgā and Meru also occur, but they have been brought in for the purpose of the poetic description of a Pallava king.

[2] Two or three generations may have separated this Vākāṭaka and his descendant Vindhyaśakti, during which time the family came to be known as *Vākāṭaka-kula*. See the analogous case of *Sātavāhana-kula* mentioned in the Nasik cave inscription of Kṛṣṇa who was probably a grandson of the king Sātavāhana, the progenitor of the Sātavāhana family. See also the expression *Gupt-ādirājaḥ* used in connection with description of Ghaṭotkaca, the son of Gupta, the progenitor of the Gupta family in the Poona plates of Prabhāvatī-guptā.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 149.

I drew attention to several Prakrit technical terms which are common to the Bāsim plates of the Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti II and the Hirahadagalli and Mayidavolu plates of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman. Some of them may be given here.

	Expression in the Basim plates	Corresponding expression in Pallava grants
1	अरट्ठसंविनयिक	अरट्ठसंविनायिकं
2	अलवणकेण्णक्खनक	अलोणगुलच्छोभं
3	अपुप्फक्खीरग्गहण	अदुधदधिगहणं
4	अपरंपरगोबलिवर्द	अपारंपरबलिवद्दगहणं
5	अभडप्पावेस	अभडपपेसं
6	अखट्टाचोल्लकविणेसिक	अकरयोल्लकविनेसिखट्टावासं

These similarities are surely not accidental. They presuppose some connection of the Vākāṭakas with the Pallavas. It is also possible that both these dynasties borrowed these expressions from earlier Sātavāhana inscriptions. No such technical terms are however noticed in any early grants of North India.

(3) Again, the titles *Hārītīputra* and *Dharmamahārāja* mentioned in connection with the earliest Vākāṭaka kings Pravarasena I, Sarvasena and Vindhyaśakti II in the Basim plates unmistakably point to the southern origin of the family; for these titles are noticed in the early grants of only southern dynasties such as the Viṇhukaḍa Sātakarnis, the Pallavas, the Kadambas and the Early Cālukyas [1]. They are not found in the early grants of any northern dynasty.

(4) Finally, the patronage that the Vākāṭakas extended to a ministerial family of South India sheds important light on this question. I shall therefore discuss this matter at some length.

An inscription in the Ghaṭotkaca cave at Gulwāḍā, 11 miles west of Ajaṇṭā, has long been known as recording the names and achievements of a family which supplied ministers to the Vākāṭakas for several generations. This inscription has been edited before, – first by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji [2] and then by Dr.

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 141, n. 1.

[2] *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples os Western India*, pp. 88 f.

Bühler [1]. Bühler's edition is still regarded as authoritative. All subsequent writers who have written on the Vākāṭakas have accepted Bühler's readings and interpretations. My attention was drawn to this record in connection with the history of the Vākāṭakas. I wanted to verify Bühler's readings in certain places and so requested Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Director of Archaeology, Hyderadad State, to supply me with a good estampage of it. He readily complied with my request. This inscription is sadly mutilated. Its lower portion is completely effaced, but what remains sheds important light on the early history of the Vākāṭakas. Like the inscriptions in caves XVI and XVII at Ajaṇṭā which I have already published in the Hyderabad Archaeological Series [2], I am editing this record for the Hyderabad State. I state here briefly the conclusions I have arrived at after a patient and careful study of this epigraph.

The object of this inscription was apparently to record the excavation of the *vihāra* cave at Gulwāḍā and the dedication of it to the Buddhist Sangha by a minister of the Vākāṭakas whose name is unfortunately lost, but who was probably Varāhadeva, the son of Hastibhoja and the minister of the Vākāṭaka Hariṣeṇa. This Varāhadeva was a devout follower of Buddhism. Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā, which he excavated and dedicated to the Buddhist Saṅgha, is still regarded as one of the best caves of Ajaṇṭā. In that cave he got an inscription incised, which is our main source of information about the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. In the inscription engraved in the Ghaṭotkaca cave Varāhadeva gives his own pedigree. His family was descended from Yajñapati who belonged to the great race of excellent Brāhmaṇas called *Vallūras*, well-known in the South. His son was Deva, on account of whom the whole kingdom together with the king performed their respective religious duties.

तद्‍ा[त्म]जो देव इवास देव ̆कृती गृहीतो नयवान् क्रियावान् ।
सराजकं राष्ट्रमुपेत्य यस्मिन्धर्म्या ̆क्रियाः पार्थे इव प्रचक्रे ॥

Soma, the son of Deva, had wives of both the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya castes. From his Brāhmaṇa wives he obtained sons

[1] *A. S. W. I.* Vol. IV, pp. 138 f.
[2] *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, Nos. 14 and 15.

learned in the Vedas, whose habitation Vallūra was even then *i. e.*, at the time of the inscription) well-known in the South.

द्विजांश्च चान्यांश्च सुतानुदारान् स [प्राप] वेदेषु समाप्तकामान् ।
वल्लूरनाम्ना दिशि दक्षिणस्यामद्यापि येषां वसतिर्द्विजानाम् ॥

From his Kṣatriya wife Soma had a son named Ravi who had marks of royalty on his person and who established his sway over the whole territory.

स क्षत्रियायां कुलशीलवत्यामुत्पादयामास नरेन्द्रचिह्नम् ।
सुतं सुरूपं रविनामधेयं कृताधिपत्यं विषये समग्रे ॥

Bhagwanlal and Bühler read the last quarter of this verse as कृताधिपत्यं मलये समग्रे. Bühler concluded from it that this family originated in Malabar. The reading of the word which follows कृताधिपत्यं is crucial on this point. The record is unfortunately indistinct here. The first *akṣara*, however, looks more like *vi* than *ma*, the curve on it being still clear. The second *akṣara* is now much damaged. It was probably so in the days of Bhagwanlal and Bühler also. The facsimile published with Bühler's transcript indeed shows it as *la*, but that facsimile, like several others in that volume, was evidently worked up by hand. Its accuracy is therefore doubtful. From the fresh estampages supplied to me, I find that the *akṣara* following what I have read as *vi* could not have been *la*. That letter has invariably in this epigraph its right limb sharply turned to the left in the form of a curve [1], whereas this letter shows in the aformentioned facsimile a straight vertical on the right. The third *akṣara* is of course *ye*. The correct reading of this word is probably *viṣaye*, not *Malaye*. There is no other evidence relegating this family to distant Malaya.

Vallūra, the original habitation of his family, has not been identified. I find, however a place named Velur,[2] 30 miles north

[1] In the inscription in cave XVI at Ajanta also the letter *l* is of the same type except when a medial vowel like *i*, *e*, or *o* is added to it. See the facsimile facing p. 43 in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVI.

[2] Velura was probably a well-known place in ancient times. Its name probabaly occurred in Inscription No. 45, but the first *akṣara* of the name is now lost. Cf. the text of this record ... lure vāthavasa Pegagahapa ... [sa] bhatukasa sabhaginikasa sabhaya...kaṭamahachetiya ... kalasa patiṭhāpi[to].

by east of Hyderabad in the Yelgandal District of the Hyderabad State. This place is to the south of Gulwāḍā and so the description that the Vallūra family was even then well known in the south suits it very well.

The Gulwāḍā inscription mentions several members of this ministerial family. Their names and the names of the contemporary Vākāṭaka princes are given below :—

Member of Ministerial family	Contemporary Vākāṭaka king
Yajñapati	
Deva	Vindhyaśakti I
Soma	Pravarasena I
Ravi	Sarvasena
Pravara	Vindhyasena or Vindhyaśakti II
Śrīrāma	Pravarasena II
Kīrti	(Name lost)
Hastibhoja	Devasena
Varāhadeva	Hariṣeṇa

Hastibhoja and Varāhadeva are mentioned in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajanta also as ministers of the Vākāṭaka kings Devasena and Hariṣeṇa. Their ancestors also may have served the earlier Vākāṭaka princes as their ministers.

It will be noticed that Deva, who was a contemporary of Vindhyaśakti I and perhaps also of his son Pravarasena I, is described as a very pious Brāhmaṇa, at whose instance the whole kingdom *including the king* engaged itself in the performance of religious rites. From Vākāṭaka inscriptions also we have evidence of a phenomenal religious activity in this period. Pravarasena I who was the real founder of Vākāṭaka imperial power is said to have performed several sacrifices such as Agniṣṭoma, Āptoryāma, Ukthya, Ṣoḍaśin, Atirātra, Vājapeya, Bṛhaspatisava and Sādyaskra besides four Aśvamedhas. No other early king in North or South

India except Mādhavavarman I of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty is known to have performed so many Śrauta sacrifices. It is not unlikely that he was encouraged in this by his pious Brāhmaṇa minister Deva.

Ravi, the grandson of Deva, is said to have established his sway over the whole territory (कृताधिपत्यं विषये समग्रे). He was a contemporary of the Vākāṭaka king Sarvasena who founded a separate kingdom with Vatsagulma modern Bāsim as its capital. Ravi may have assisted Sarvasena in extending the limits of his patrimony by making fresh conquests.

From the table given above it will be noticed that the two families— ministerial and royal- which were intimately connected with each other for several generations rose to distinction in the same period. They may therefore have hailed from the same part of the country. The ministerial family belonged to Vallūra which, as shown above, is probably identical with Velur in the Central Deccan. The original habitation of the *gṛhapati* Vākāṭaka can not be determined owing to the unfortunate mutilation of Inscription No. 126 at Amarāvatī, but it was also probably situated in the Central Deccan. This affords the most plausible explanation of how the Vākāṭakas rose to power in Vidarbha or Central Deccan immediately after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas.

The hoard of Sātavāhana coins discovered at Tarhala in the Akola District of Berar, which I have published in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*,[1] contained coins of the latest members of that royal family. The Sātavāhanas therefore appear to have held Vidarbha to the last. Vindhyaśakti who as shown above probably lived in the Central Deccan may have been a feudatory or a high officer under the last Sātavāhana king and may therefore have found it easy to usurp power after his death.

I hope the foregoing discussion has made it plain that the illustrious Vākāṭaka dynasty did not originate in North India, but had its original home in the Central Deccan.

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1 *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 83 f.

SOME REMARKS ON THE FORMATION OF NOUNS IN SANSKRIT

BY

T. BURROW

The progress registered in the last thirty years in the field of Indo-European Comparative Grammar is of such importance as to render out of date most of the standard works on the subject. Further more the analysis of the individual languages has come to need revision in the light of new knowledge, and this applies in particular to Sanskrit, since its antiquity is such that general Indo-European problems are of exceptional importance in its study.

Revision of much that was taken to be finally settled in Comparative Grammar, became necessary through the discovery and decipherment of the Hittite language. This language holds a peculiar position in the Indo-European family, since it shows every sign of having branched off from the main stock at a period much earlier than the languages previously known. For this reason it enables us to go back further in the history of Indo-European, and to explain many facts in these languages in a more fundamental way.

In his *Origines de la Formation des Nams in Indo-European* Benveniste evaluated the Hittite evidence in the field of nominal stem formation with valuable results. It is clear that in this part of comparative grammar the Hittite evidence is of exceptional value. It is not proposed here to repeat what Benveniste and others have written on this subject, but to reexamine certain features of Sanskrit Grammar in the light of new evidence.

Of particular interests is the status of *r* / *n* stems in Hittite. Neuter nouns in *r* substituting – *n* in the oblique cases (e.g. Skt. *áhar* / *áhnas* day) are familiar elsewhere ; they are a comparatively rare type and have the appearance of being archaic. In Hittite on the other hand they are abundant, not only simple *r* / *n* stems, but also a series of compound stems of this type in *-var*, *mar-*, *sar*, *tar* where *n* replaces *r* in the oblique cases. These

are living formatives, used abundantly in the formation of verbal abstracts etc. Furthermore it can be shown, and has been shown, that these formations were at one time equally active in Indo-European in general, and that except in Hittite they have fallen into disuse, and replaced by other formations. In themselves they exist in most IE languages only as survivals, but many further formatives constructed on these more primitive formation, continued to flourish even when they had become extinct.

From the point of view of our study we may look upon the earliest Sanskrit, the Vedic languages, as a comparatively late form of Indo-European, one that has undergone many changes in the prehistoric period, the nature of which can in many cases be determined. In the case of the neuter formation under discussion we can establish for certain their original importance, and follow to some extent the process of their elimination.

A few such words, but only stems in simple *r* / *n* have survived to establish themselves in the grammar of classical Sanskrit words of this type (*yákṛt* / *yaknás*) are survivals of great antiquity. An important feature is the alternating accent, which though originally the rule in Indo-European, has normally been eliminated. That has happened occasionally also in these few survivals (*áhar* / *áhnas*).

In the earliest language of the Veda quite a number of other stems of this type can be listed, but they are all in a state of decay since none can be declined throughout. Thus we find a stem *vadhar* weapon which has become indeclinable. On the other hand the stem *udan-* water (Gen. S. udnás) has lost its old nominative in *-r* which is well attested in other IE languages. Corresponding to the instrumentals *bhūnā́* and *mahnā́* there are indeed preserved two nominative forms *bhuvar* and *mahar* ; but these are no longer in ordinary use being attested only in the compounds *bhuvarloka-* and *maharloka-*.

It has been customary to regard an instrumental like *bhūnā́* as being derived from *bhūmán-* 'abundance', with loss of *n* in the combination — *mn-*, but this is certainly wrong; it is a neuter *n*-stem, a survival of the older type, with the nominative as above. In the same way the instrumental *dānā́* is not from

dáman- gift, but is the remnant of an old neuter stem in *-n*; that this original alternated with an r-stem (*dār* / *dāná*) is seen from the variation between Skt. *dānam*, Lat. *dōnum* on the one hand and Gk. *dōron*; OSL. *darŭ* on the other. Likewise in *mahiná*, *variṇá* we may see old neuter *-in* stems which have become attached to the declension of *mahimán-* and *varimán*, but are not ultimately derived from them.

It is a feature of Sanskrit compounds that they occasionally contain as one of their elements forms that are no longer current in independent use. It is not surprising therefore to find some old neuter *r*-stems appearing only in such combinations. So we have *vanar-* *uṣar-*, *vasar-* in *vanargú-* 'going in the forest', *uṣarbúdh-* 'waking at dawn' and *vasarhán-* 'smiting at dawn'. Note that from *vanar-* we also have a derivative *vānara-* 'monkey'.

With these should be classed the obscure term *sabardugh-* or *sabardúghā*. The first member is unintelligible as it stands, but since *b* and *r* have long been confused in North India, we may venture to substitute **savardugh-*. This will contain a neuter *r*-derivative from the root *su-* 'to press' (*savar 'pressing' = *savana-*), and the whole compound may be taken to mean 'milked for the (Soma-) pressing' an epithet of the cow whose milk was used in the sacrificial ceremonies.

The existence of yet other neuter stems in *-ar* is attested by certain denominative verbs in *-aryati* (the same type is found also in Greek and Hittite, so it is ancient). Such verbs are *ratharýáti* 'rides in a chariot', *saparyati* 'attends on, worships'. These verbs imply old nominal basis *rathar*, etc. from which the *ya-* denominative is made. The corresponding neuter *-n* stems provided a similar series of denominatives in *-anýati*, which are likewise ancient. It is historically wrong to derive them from thematic bases in *-ana* as Macdonell does (*Vedic Grammar* § 560) Among these we must class the verb *viponyati* 'is inspired' which with the adjective *vipanyú-* and the noun *vipanyā́* is derived from the root *vip-* 'to be inspired'. By erroneous analysis the dictionaries have explained this as containing the prefix *vi* and the root *pan-*.

The word *dhauritaka-* n. 'a horses trot' is derived from the root *dhāv-* 'to run', and the *-r-* which appears in it can only be explained out of an old nominal formation of the type **dhāvar*. The alternative form *dhōritaka-* has Prakritic *-o-*, as also has *ādhoraṇa* 'elephant driver' which is to be explained on the same basis.

The compound stems of the type *mar / man, tar / tan* etc. have approached even nearer extinction than the simple *r / n* stems. The Vedic language preserves a number of such old neuters as infinitives e. g. in *-sani* (neṣáni)- *tári* (*dhartári*)- *váne* (*dāváne*). Here several old classes of neuter verbal nouns have been preserved but only in such cases as are adapted as infinitives. An isolated case of the preservation of an old neuter in *-tar* is probably to be found in ṚV 6. 49. 6 : *yásya gīrbhir jágataḥ sthātar jagad ā kṛṇudhvam*, " through whose hymns you will provide for the world its stability ". Here the word *sthātar* is interpreted as vocative by the Pada-pāṭha, and according to the usual system of Sanskrit grammar, this is all it can be. But it is impossible to make sense with such a vocative. On the other hand if we assume an old type of neuter noun *sthā́tar*, such as we know existed at one time, the passage is easy to understand. It is also easy to see how the author of the Pada-pāṭha, faced by an obsolete formation, did not understand it, and substituted the vocative *sthātar* of classical Sanskrit, suppressing the accent in order to do so.

A few of these old neuter formations remain in the form of adverbs. Such are *sasvàr* 'secretly', *antár* 'inside', *prātár* 'early'. In formation such words are identical with the old type of neuter noun in *-var, tar.* etc. which we have been discussing. The difference lies only in the accent. The neuter nouns had radical accent which shifted to the termination in the genitive etc. suffixal accent as here is found in the case of neuter nouns in the endingless locative (*akṣán*), so these adverbs are a type of endingless locative of old neuters.

The Vedic language has some curious adverbial forms in *-trā́* (*puruṣatrā́* 'among men', *devatrā́* 'among the gods), which later become obsolete. To analyse these we must first abstract the final -ā́ which is a common Vedic adverbial suffix with locative sense.

We are left with the stems *deva-* etc. followed by suffixal *-tr-*. The explanation of this latter becomes clear by a comparison with Hittite. In this language we find the neuter suffix *-tar* forming collectives e. g. *antuḫšatar* 'mankind, the population' (*antuḫšaš* 'man'). Such is the function of the suffixal *-tr-* we find here. The adverb *devatrá* implies an old neuter collective **devatar* corresponding in its formation exactly to the Hittite type *antuḫšatar*.

These examples are sufficient to show that the remains of these old neuter formations are abundant enough, when looked for. It is clear that all these formations which have become familiar from Hittite, must at one time have been equally alive in the pre-history of Indo-Iranian. These remains testify to the existence of a fuller system at an earlier date.

Of the various neuter suffixes listed above only the suffix *-man* continues to be frequent. Nouns with this suffix had originally Nom. Acc. in *-mar*. This is clear from Hittite and also from Greek where a considerable number of such words are preserved, though they are all archaic. The *n-* stem has been generalised in Sanskrit, and this in view of the comparative evidence is an innovation. The same thing has happened with the comparatively rare neuters in *-van*, but in this case the r-forms of the Nom. Acc. are preserved in Avestan (*snāvar-* = Skt. *snā́va*) showing their loss to be comparatively recent.

The decline of the old neuter types of noun which is characteristic of the prehistory of Indo-Iranian, as of most other IE branches, did not only take the form of their falling out of use. They might also be modified in form and so continue as member of a different class. This can certainly be shown to have happened in two ways.

(1) Old consonantal neuters have been extended by the addition of the vowel *-a* and become thematic neuters. In Hittite there is no class of thematic neuters and there is reason to believe that the whole class of such neuters is an innovation in Indo-European. In Sanskrit such words as *kárvara-* 'action' and *srastara-* 'seat of grass' are extensions of earlier neuter nouns ending in *-var* and *-tar* simply, of the type so familiar in

Hittite. Similar extension is to be assumed in *añjana-* n. 'ointment' (: Lat. *unguen*, non thematic) and the very numerous verbal nouns in *-ana*, n.; likewise in such words as *gambhára-* 'depth', *támisra-* n. darkness (extension of the neuter *sar-* suffix in Hittite, not very abundantly represented in Sanskrit) *vètana* 'wage' (suffix *-tan-* root *vī-*) *vājina* 'prize' etc. Nouns in *-tar* (*kṣétra* 'field' etc.) based on older consonantal neuters in *-tar* / *tr-* remain common.

(2) In some cases there has been a transference of gender. Words which appear as masculines from the earliest period of Sanskrit were in some cases originally neuter. Skt. *áśman-* 'stone' is masculine like the related words in Greek and Lithuanian, but the derivative *aśmarī* 'gall stone' can only be explained on the basis of an old neuter **aśmar* alternating with the *n-* stem *aśman-*. The generalisation of the *n-* stem and the transference to the masculine gender are both innovations of the prehistoric period. The same transference must have taken place in the case of *pāmán-* 'skin disease', because the adjectival form *pāmara-* beside *pāmaná-* can only, be explained out of an original alternating neuter **pámar* / *páman-*. Similar fluctuation in adjectival derivatives may point to the original existence of such neuters even when they no longer exist: for instance pívan- m. 'fat' on the one hand, and its feminine *pívarī* and the alternative adjectival formation *pīvara-* on the other point to the one time existence of a neuter stem *pívar* / *pívan-* and this is confirmed by the existence of such a neuter in Greek. The same conclusion is to be drawn from a comparison of Skt. Iśvara- lord with Avestan *isvan-* it, and of the Vedic *satvan-*, *satvant-*, *satvaná-* with the Aryan *šatuara* - (*satvará) which appears amongst the documents of the Mitanni.

So far we have been dealing briefly with the history of these old classes of neuters; from what remains it can be seen that at one time these were all living formations as in Hittite. It is also possible to see that in the pre-history of the language there has been a steady tendency to their elimination. It will now be profitable to trace their history from another aspect. There exit in abundance a series of formations - adjectives and agent nouns —

which are derived from the more primitive neuter formations listed above, and which presuppese' their existence even when they are no longer preserved. It is characteristic of the developments which have gone into the making of Sanskrit, that these adjectival formations have largely continued to thrive and flourish while the more primitive neuter formations on which they are based have fallen into disuse.

Agent nouns and adjectives, which for the purpose of this article may be classed together, and which in fact were not originally distinct, were constructed on the basis of the more primitive neuters in two ways: (i) by the addition of the accented thematic vowel to the neuter base, and (ii) by shift of accent from the root which is accented in the neuter to the suffix (usually associated with this process is Vṛddhi of the nominative singular).

(i) Let us examine a few examples of the first class. The suffix *-rá* is fairly common in the formation of adjectives and according to the classical system of Sanskrit grammar it counts as a primary suffix, e. g. *citrá-* is analysed into the root *cit* and the suffix *-rá*, and the suffix itself is analysed no further. Mostly this system has been accepted also in comparative grammar. But examine a number of examples and their congates more clearly, it becomes evident that historically this formulation is inadequate. For instance *ugrá-* 'strong' is an adjectival derivative of a neuter noun in *-r* which Iranian preserves: Av. *aogarə*. So it is really a secondary formation and the historical analysis is *ugr- á* (**augar* + *á* with usual weakening of root owing to accentuation of suffix) and not as the descriptive grammar has it *ug-rá*. Similarly *udrá-* ' otter ' is a secondary formation derived from the primary neuter noun in *-r* which is familiar in other IE languages (*udr-á* ' animal that lives in the water'). It is not of course necessary that in every case an adjective in *-rá* has originated in this way, because once the formation has been established it may be extended as such, but the formation itself has arisen in the manner described and probably in a majority of the examples old neuters in *-r* may be assumed.

What has been said about the relation of the adjectival suffix *-rá* to the neuters in *-r* applies with equal force to the compound suffixes containing *-r*. The adjective *bhāsvará* 'brilliant' for instance is derived by the same method of adding the accented thematic vowel from an old neuter **bhāsvar* 'brilliance' of the type that has become familiar from Hittite. This suffix is of course capable of gradation so the adjectival suffix may take the form *-urá* : *bhāsura-*. In the same way adjectives are derived from the compound neuter suffixes *mar, tar, sar, yar / it* : e. g. *admara-* 'voracious', *yájatra-* 'adorable', *sapsará* 'worshipping' (√ *sap-*), *rudhirá* 'red'. Here *admara-* for instance is based on an old neuter stem *ádmar 'eating', *yájatra-* on **yajatar* 'worshipping', etc. At the back of all such formations lie old neuters of the type that Hittite has made familiar. The same applies to adjectives containing simple and compound *n-* suffixes : *stená-* 'thief', *vagvaná-* 'loquacious', *tīkṣṇá-* 'sharp', etc.

A few words in addition may be written concerning the suffix *-tara*. This appears normally as a comparative suffix, but there are some examples in which it does not have this function. An example is *aśvatará* - 'mule' the form of this word has caused some difficulty, since, in view of the normal comparative meaning of the suffix *- tara*, it should mean 'more of horse' whereas in fact it is *less of horse'. Its interpretation can be found excluding the comparative *- tara* and analysing the word on the lines indicated above : *aśvatar -á* is an adjective meaning partaking of the nature of a horse (**aśvatar*), and describes the mule accurately enough. A number of other words may be classed here where the suffix *-tara* has no trace of a comparative sense, and whose explanation is to be made on the same lines : e. g. *divātara-* 'diurnal', *vatsatará-* 'calf', *rathītara-* 'charioteer'.

As regards the comparative suffix *-tara* it must be of the same origin as the *-tara* mentioned above. This means that the comparative meaning is a secondary development, since the neuter suffix *-tar* (IE *-ter*) on which it is based has no such meaning. The contexts in which this meaning has developed are to be found in the combinations of prepositions with this suffix, (Skt. *uttara-* Av. *fratara-* etc.) IE **proterò-* meant 'one who is in the

front (*proter) ', and the comparative meaning that the word has derives from the base, not the suffix. But the existence of a number of such forms was sufficient for the suffix to acquire this meaning, and then to be extended to the comparison of adjectives.

(ii) The second method by which agent nouns and adjectives could be formed on the basis of the primary neuter stems is well known from Sanskrit and Greek. This is the shifting of the accent from the root to the suffix. Well known examples of this are provided by *brahmán-* 'priest' derived from *bráhman-* 'prayer' and *apás* 'active' derived from *ápas* 'work'. The number of such doublets to be found in the Vedic language is not very large, but comparative study shows that the principle here involved is of the very greatest importance for the understanding of the structure of Indo-European, and that in these Sanskrit examples we have the remains of a system that was originally of much wider application. That it has become comparatively rare is due to the obsolescence of many of the old neuter types which has already been mentioned. As a result of this where there was originally a double series of the type *bráhman-* : *brahmán-*, all that is preserved in Sanskrit in the majority of cases is the second member of the series. Examples of this apposition are found in the case of words containing the suffix *-man-* because this is the only neuter suffix among those we are dealing with which remains at all common. The dual series is not to be found among the others because so few such neuters are preserved. Nevertheless it is often possible to restore such pairs by comparative study.

The masculine formations in *-van* (*yájvan-* etc.) have the accent on the root, but this cannot be original since not only does it go against the general rule for this type of formation, but it also conflicts with the apophony of many of the forms. That is to say *ṛkvan-*, *drúhvan-*, *sútvan-* etc. can only be explained on the assumption that the accent was originally on the suffix. When the root was weakened it must have been unaccented according to the generally accepted rule. How this change of accent came about it is naturally not possible to say in detail, but it may be observed there is a not uncommon tendency to shift the accent to

the first syllable, particularly in the case of those formations of adjectival origin which have come to acquire more the character of nouns. Furthermore in this series the duality, neuter : masculine agent noun, having ceased to exist there remains no functional necessity for the suffixal accent of *yájvan-* etc. Nevertheless it may be assumed to have been the original rule, so that these formations formed the second series in the two opposed types, neuter : masculine agent noun.

In some cases it is possible to supply the missing neuter from other Indo-European languages, and thus to verify the place assigned to the masculines in *-van*. Corresponding to Sanskrit *pī́van-* adj. 'fat' we find in Greek the neuter noun pĩar (> **pī́var*) and the relation of this neuter and the Sanskrit adjective *pī́van-* is exactly the same as that of *bráhman-* and *brahmán-* when we remember that the earlier accentuation of the adjective must have been **pīván-*. The same relation may be assumed between Sanskrit *ṛkvan-* 'hymn-singing' (< **ṛkván-*) and Hittite *arkawar* n. 'prayer', one of the new and interesting etymologies which Hittite has provided for the Vedic vocabulary. We may further note that the regular feminine of these stems uses an *r-* stem (*yájvan-* : *yájvarī*) and that this alternation can only be explained by the existence of old neuters with alternating *r / n* stems (**yájvar / yájvan-* n. 'worship'). The same conclusion is to be drawn from the co-existence of adjectival stems in *-van* and *-vara*, namely in Av. *isvan-* : Skt. *īśvará-* mentioned above, and in *pīvara-* 'fat' beside *pī́van-*.

In the same way the masculine suffix *-tar-* forming agent nouns (*dātár-* giver', n.) is related to the neuter suffix *-tar* which is commonly found in verbal nouns in Hittite. The position is that in Hittite only neuter nouns in *-tar* are found, whereas in Sanskrit as in other IE languages only the masculine agent nouns in *-tár* are found (except a few scattered remnants, Lat. *iter*, Skt. **sthā́tar* above). It is however quite clear that the relation between the two series, namely the Hittite neuters in *-tar* and the agent nouns in *-tár* in Sanskrit, etc., is just the same as that between *bráhman-* and *brahmán*. From **sthā́tar* n. 'standing' is derived *sthātár-* 'one connected with

standing, one who stands, 'stander'. At one time both types existed side by side, but in the languages before us Hittite preserves only the first type, the other languages only the second. When Hittite was not known it was not possible to understand properly the nature of the formation in *-tár*, and to see that they too original formed the second of a double series, neuter — masculine agent noun, of which the former are the more primitive. As elsewhere the suffixal accentuation is the most original in these agent nouns, but there have been modifications in various languages, and in Sanskrit, the type *dā́tar-* co-exists with the type *dātár-*.

The juxtaposition of the agent nouns in *-tár* with the Hittite neuters in *-tar* shows that the principle of derivation seen in Skt. *bráhman-* : *brahmán-* was of much wider and more fundamental importance than the actual remains in the various languages would at first sight give to believe. This conclusion may be strengthened by giving examples of similar masculine (and feminine) formations based on the old neuters in *-var*, *sar* etc. which are dealt with in this article. Derivative agent nouns or adjectives could be formed from all these neuter types by the same principle, and although the examples quotable are not very numerous, the existence of even a few is sufficient to demonstrate that this method of derivation was at one time of universal application.

An example of such an adjectival derivative in connection with the old neuter suffix *-var* is seen in the masculine plural of the numeral 'four': *catvā́ras*. Corresponding to this there was a neuter noun **cátvar* (IE *kʷétwer*) whose existence is to be deduced from Skt *catvara-* n. 'square' which has received secondary thematic extension in the way described above. The fourth numeral is the adjectival form of this stem, formed according to the general principle enumerated, with suffixal accentuation and vṛddhi which in these formations is normally associated with the nominative singular. In this case we may assume that the original form of the adjective was catvā́r (kʷetwṓr), undifferentiated as to number (Lat. *quattuor* probably continues such a form), and that the termination of the plural is a secondary addition.

In connection with the neuter suffix *-sar* which Hittite has established for Indo-European, there are a number of formations derived in this way. The word for 'sister' for instance, *svasár-* and its cognates may be derived from the pronominal stem *sva-* 'self, one's own' with the addition of the adjectival form of the suffix - sar -. The same *sar* / *sr* functioning adjectivally appears in the feminine stems of the third and fourth numerals *tisrás*, *cátasras*. In Sanskrit for some reason the above forms originally accusative appear as nominatives, more original forms **tisores*, **k^{w}etesores* are attested from their derivatives in Celtic. Outside Sanskrit we find the same suffix in the same use in Lat. *uxor* 'wife' which is to be connected with Sanskrit *ókas* 'home'. In Hittite some feminine nouns are by this suffix extended by the thematic vowel (according to type (i) above) *ishassaras* 'mistress, lady'. It seems that the suffix *sar* in its adjectival forms had begun to be specialised as a feminine suffix, though the process was never carried very far owing to the competition of *-ā*; *ī* which came to be normally employed in this use. The theory which sees in this *- sor -* an old word meaning 'woman'[1] (therefor making these words into compounds) is without any adequate foundation, since an adjectivally used suffix - *sár* - formed on the analogy of all the similar formations which we have quoted, explains all the forms to satisfaction.

Similar masculiue and feminine formations are made from the various compound *n* - suffixes, the series being related in the same way to that of the corresponding neuter stems. We have already dealt with the masculines in - *van* - and - *man* - which are comparatively numerous. With the suffix - *san* - we have a feminine stem in *yóṣan* - 'woman' derived from the root that appears also in *yuvan* - 'young man' (original meaning - therefore 'young woman'). Masculine stems in - *tan* - are found only outside Sanskrit, e. g. in Avestan *marᵊtan* - 'mortal, man'.

The two methods described above, namely the addition of the accented thematic vowel and the shift of accent to the suffix, are the normal methods by which agent nouns and adjectives are derived from primitive neuters. There are other methods which

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1 See for instance E. N. Stuttevant's article in Language, Vol. 25, p. 343 ff (1949).

can be observed from the study of Sanskrit nominal formations, which are less frequents. We have for instance the addition of the adjectival suffixes *-i* and *-u* to old neuter bases of the classes dealt with. In the formation of *jiṣṇú*, victorious' and *kṛtnú* 'active' for instance the suffix *u* (accented according to the usual rule for adjectives) is added to bases containing the suffixes *tan* / *tn*, *san* / *sn*, which are none other than the old neuter formatives which Hittite has shown to have been a regular feature of Indo-European. Likewise in *dāśuri-* 'pious' and *carṣaní-* 'active' the suffix *-i* is added to produce adjectives from old bases in *var* / *ur* and *san*. Many such forms can be quoted and in all of them old neuter stems of the Hittite and early Indo-European type, though extinct as such, can be deduced from their derivatives.

Another type of formation of special interest may be illustrated by the word *karmā́ra-* 'artificer, smith'. This is to be derived in the following way according to the principles sketched above. The neuter noun *kármaṇ-* 'work' belonged to a class which, we have seen, originally formed a heteroclitic nominative in *-r*: **kármar*. We have also seen that it was originally possible to form adjectives and agent nouns from all the various *r* and *-n* stems by shift of accent to the suffix and accompanying vṛddhi of the nominative singular, even though the practice became common only in the case of a few. According to this we should expect **karmā́r* 'one connected with work, artificer' related according to the usual principles with the **kármar* 'work' which the comparative evidence, leads us to assume. The Vedic stem of the word, *karmā́ra-* is derived from this by a process which is familiar enough from the later history of Indo-Aryan, namely the transference of nouns from the non-thematic to the thematic class by the more or less mechanical addition of the thematic vowel *-a* (*bhaṭṭāra-* : *bhartā*, etc.). This process, though much developped in the MIA period did not begin in this period, but had also been proceeding in prehistoric times. This is clear, among other reasons, from the fact that Hittite, representing early Indo-European, shows the thematic class much less developed than is the case with the other IE languages. We have already observed that in the case of certain classes of neuters

(*kárvara-*, *añjana-*, etc.) the addition of the thematic vowel is secondary.

There is reason to believe that the same type of development lies behind the middle participles in *-āna* and *-māna*. These form part of a series of formations which are based on the simple *-n* suffix and all the compound suffixes which we have been discussing :—

— *n-*	*adānà-*	'eating'
— *man-*	*yájamāna-*	'sacrificing'
— *san-*	*namasānà-*	'worshipping'
— *van-*	*rásavāna-*	'wealthy'
— *tan-*	*cyávatāna-*	n. pr. ('active', cf. *cyautná-*)
— *yan-*	*tūrvayāna-*	'victorious'.

Here we find a complete series of adjectival forms all constructed in the same way, and corresponding to the list of neuter *-n-* stems given. Of these the formations in *-āna* and *-amāna-* have been adopted as middle participles (though in *bhayānaka-* we still have such a form functioning as an adjective). The type in *-asāná* is treated as a semi-participle, though it cannot be integrated into any recognised tense-stem of the verb. The type in *-ayāna-* furnished middle participles for causative verbs in the epic language (*cyāvayāna-* etc.) and though not recognised by the classical grammar this form may be ancient. They have of course become middle participles by adaptation and primarily they are simply nominal formations, forming a special subdivision of the class discussed here. They may all be explained as thematic extensions of earlier vṛddhied formations e. g. *namasāná-* from *namasān based on a neuter type **námasar* : *námasan-*. This type, we have pointed out, is familiar in Hittite ; it is an extension by the additional suffixes *r* and *n* of the simple neuter type in *-as*, and in Hittite it has completely replaced that type. In Sanskrit the simple *-as* stems are preserved and the extended forms eliminated, but there are indications that such stems originally existed. Some such forms are listed above ; here we may add one more piece of evidence relevant to the forms discussed here. Beside *mandasāná-* 'exhilarated' we have also the adjective *matsará*, and the variation between *r* and *n* in these two adjectival formations, reposes ultimately on the stem varia-

tion of an old neuter in *r* / *n*. The same relationship can be observed between *anṛkṣará-* 'non-injurious' and *arśasāna-* 'injurious'. In connection with these forms in - *asāna-* mention may of one appearing in early Pāli in a different function, namely in *rakkhita- mānasān* a 'whose mind is guarded'. The second member of a bahuvrīhi compound may assume a specially adjectival form, and in this derivative from *mánas* 'mind', the form analysed above is used.

The other forms listed in the series may be assumed to have arisen in the same way. For instance the type *adāná* - may be regarded as a thematic extension of the non - thematic type that appears in Lat. *edō, edōnis*, and the same relation may be seen between the middle participles of the type *yájamāna* - and Greek substantives of the type *hēgémōn*. As regards the original accent of these types it may be either on the original vṛddhied suffix as in *Karmāra-*, in which case the *a* is simply a mechanical extension, or, since these are adjective forms we may have the accent on the final - *a* as in the types *Namasāná* - . Where it rests on the root later transference is to be assumed.

What has been said above should be sufficient to illustrate the fact that in the field of nominal stem formation in Sanskrit there remains considerable scope for comparative and historical investigation. This aspect of comparative grammar has always been comparatively neglected, and in the main all that we have consists of lists of formatives only without much attempt at analysis. But it is possible to go much further than this and in particular the Hittite evidence, reflecting as it does an earlier stage of development, provides a key to the understanding of the system which was previously not available. It is now possible to understand more clearly the organic relationship of the suffixes to each other, to analyse them into their component parts, and to sketch the main lines of development. In connection with a few suffixes the general lines of this analysis are indicated above. In the same way it is possible to penetrate more deeply into the structure of the rest of the system. What was previously not fully possible, a fundamental and historical analysis of the Sanskrit system of noun-formation, has, through this new comparative evidence, become something that is capable of accomplishment.

ŚRĪNĀTHA ĀCĀRYA-CŪḌĀMAṆI, A SMṚTI-WRITER OF BENGAL

BY

R. C. HAZRA

I. Śrīnātha's Date

Although Śrīnātha Ācārya-Cūḍāmaṇi is to be credited with the authorship of at least eighteen works which testify to his profound scholarship[1], he has furnished his works with very little information about himself. As a matter of fact, none of his works contains any information about his date. So, we are to determine it, only approximately, from the dates of the works and authors which Śrīnātha mentions or in which he or any of his works has been mentioned.

Of the various authors referring to Śrīnātha or his works it is Raghunandana and Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya who are the most important; and we have already shown[2] that the date of birth of Raghunandana should not be placed much earlier than 1480 A. D., that Raghunandana's literary activity should be placed between 1520 and 1570 A. D., and that Govindānanda wrote his works between 1520 and 1560 A. D.

As Śrīnātha mentions Vācaspatimiśra[3] in his works, the period of his literary activity can be expected to have begun not earlier than about 1480 A. D. In the introductory verses of his *Tātparya-dīpikā* (which is one of his earliest works) Śrīnātha says

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[1] See my article on the 'Works and personal history of Śrīnātha Ācārya-Cūḍāmaṇi, a Smṛti-writer of Bengal' published in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 277-292

[2] See the forthcoming issue of the *Bhāratīya Vidyā* for an article of mine on Smārta Raghunandana's works and time and *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 97-108 (for another on the 'Works and the period of literary activity of Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya').

[3] Accoding to Manomohan Chakravarti and P. V. Kane the period of Vācaspatimiśra's literary activity is to be placed between 1450 and 1480 A. D. — See Chakravarti in *JASB*, XI, 1915, pp. 399-400, and Kane in his *History of Dharma-śāstra*, I, pp. 404-5.

that he wrote this commentary for the intellectual development of his promising students. Hence it is highly probable that he began his literary activity not very much earlier than the time when Raghunandana, his most eminent pupil, was yet a student reading with him, i. e. from about 1485 A. D.

Again, a Ms. of the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*[1] is dated Śaka 1503 (i. e. 1581 A. D.). So, this work must have been written before that time. Govindānanda's violent criticism of the views of Śrīnātha by calling him simply Ādhunika[2], and the frequent references made by Raghunandana and Govindānanda, living far apart, to the different works of Śrīnātha show that the latter's works had been widely known and regarded as authoritative in all parts of Bengal before the former two Smṛti-writers began to write their own works. Hence the literary activity of Śrīnātha must have ended before 1510 A. D. Raghunandana's apology to his learned readers and not to his teacher Śrīnātha for going against the latter's views tends to show that Raghunandana began his career as an author after the demise of his revered teacher.

Thus the period of Śrīnātha's literary activity is to be placed between 1485 and 1510 A. D.

P. V. Kane places Śrīnātha between 1470 and 1540 A. D.[3], whereas according to Manomohan Chakravarti 'Śrīnātha flourished in the last decade of the fifteenth and first quarter of the sixteenth century'[4]. Chakravarti's attempt to determine Śrīnātha's date from that of a Ms. of the *Tātparya-dīpikā* is not at all happy and convincing; because the verse 'śāke varga-tryaditi-rajanī-nāthair mite mīnabhe etc.'[5], which contains the date of the Ms., is rather obscure, and the reading '°tryabdhi°' for '°tryaditi,°' though quite convenient for our purpose, would create metrical defect in the line.

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[1] Dacca University Ms. No 49.

[2] Probably Govindānanda did never want to show respect to Śrīnātha by calling him with his name or with his well-known title 'Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi'; hence Govindānanda calls him 'Ādhunika'.

[3] Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra*, I, p. 753.

[4] *JASB*, XI, 1915, pp. 350–351.

[5] H. P. Shastri, *Notices of Sans. Mss., Second Series*, II, pp. 73–4, No. 87; Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 283, No. 662.

II. Śrīnātha, a Reformer in Bengal Smṛti.

We have seen above that the period of Śrīnātha's literary activity is to be placed between 1485 and 1510 A. D. So, Śrīnātha was practically a product of the fifteenth century, a time when the Hindu social fabric in Bengal was much weakened by the wide spread of Tantricism mainly through Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Śāktism and Buddhism, as well as by the onslaughts of Muhammadanism. Though after the fall of the Pāla kings[1] in the twelfth century A. D. Vallālasena, an orthodox Brahmanist, tried, with some amount of success, to popularise the Brahmanical ideas and practices by means of Brahmanical ritualistic writings[2] as well as by social reforms and readjustments in order to

[1] The Pāla kings were Buddhists and encouraged Buddhism. During their regime many Buddhist Tantras were written and Buddhism was spread all over Bengal. - See *History of Bengal* Vol. I (ed. R. C. Majumdar), pp. 304 ff., 381 ff. and 416 ff.; *Rāma-carita* of Sandhyākaranandin (ed. R. C. Majumdar, R. G. Basak and N. G. Banerji, Rajshahi 1939) 3. 7, and 4. 2.

[2] Vallālasena is credited with the authorship of four well known digests, viz., *Ācāra-sāgara*, *Pratiṣṭhā-sāgara*, *Dāna-sāgara* and *Adbhuta-sāgara*. He must have written another work named *Vrata-sāgara*, which is referred to in his *Dāna-sāgara* (India Office Ms No. 719, fol. 20b - śaktāśakta-strī-puṁsa-sādhāraṇaṃ ca dakṣiṇa-go-śṛṅgaṃ prakṣālana-jala-snānaṃ hari-vaṃśoktaṃ vrata-sāgarīyaṃ strī-vrata-caryoktam anusaṁdheyam; and fol 23b - vrata-sāgarīya--mukha-bandhastha-strī-vrata-caryāyām añjana-danta-dhāvanādi-niṣedhāt). Of these five works, the first two and the last one are known only by name from references and quotations, no Ms. of these having yet come to light; a Ms. of the third work has been preserved in two parts in the India Office Library, London (Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, III, pp. 542-5, Nos. 1704-5, Mss Nos. 719-720; see also R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sans. Mss*, I, p. 151 and H. P. Shastri, *Notices of Sans. Mss., Second Series*, I, p. 107 for extracts); and the fourth has been edited by Muralīdhara Jhā and published by Prabhākarī & Co., Benares, 1905.

It is often said that the *Dāna-sāgara* was really written by Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa but passed in the name of his royal disciple Vallālasena (cf., for example, Raghunandana's statement in his *Smṛti-tattva*, II, p. 44 - viṣṇu-rahasyasya anārṣatvasya dāna-sāgare aniruddha-bhaṭṭena abhihitatvāc ca); so also was the case with the *Adbhuta-sāgara* which is said to have been written by Śrīnivāsa, author of the *Śuddhi-dīpikā*. But from the information supplied by Vallālasena himself that he found an able teacher (guru) in Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa, a profound scholar deserving comparison with Bṛhaspati, learnt from him the essence of the entire Purāṇa and Smṛti literature, and then wrote the *Dāna-sāgara* (cf. vṛtrārer iva gīṣpatir narapater yasyāniruddho guruḥ ॥ adhigata-sakala-purāṇa-smṛti-sāraḥ śraddhayā guror asmāt ।

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counteract the social and religious disturbances with which Tantricism, Buddhism and various local cults threatened the

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... ... dāna-nibandhaṃ vidhatte ... ... ॥ *Dāna-sāgara*, fol. 1b-2a), it would appear that though Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa was Vallālasena's teacher, he had little to do directly with the authorship of the work.

From Vallālasena's own remarks in the *Dāna-sāgara* it appears that the *Ācāra-sāgara* included, among other things, the topic of gifts which are to be made in different parts of the year (śrutāny ādi-purāṇe tu dānāny abdavibhāgataḥ । ācāra-sāgaroktatvān na kīrtyante ' tra kṛtsnaśaḥ ॥ — *Dāna-sāgara*, fol. 3b); while the *Pratiṣṭhā-sāgara* treated of the dedication of temples and reservoirs (jalāśayānāṃ dānāni tathā ca sura-veśmanāṁ । noktāni samyag uktāni pratiṣṭhā-sāgare yataḥ ॥ - *Dāna-sāgara*, fol. 3b). The *Dāna-sāgara* begins with a salutation to Brahmins, ' the visible gods of the earth ', gives an account of Vallālasena himself and his family which is called ' śruti-niyama-guru ' (i. e. illustrious due to the observance of the Vedic injunctions), names the works used in it, enumerates the different kinds of gifts, and names those Purāṇas, or parts thereof, which Vallālasena rejected as unreliable. It then establishes the glory and divinity of Brahmins on the authority of various ancient texts and deals with the details of more than 1300 (according to Vallālasena 1375) kinds of gifts. It carefully avoids the quoting of Tantric works. It even avoids those Purāṇic works, or parts thereof, which were influenced by Tantricism. The *Adbhuta-sāgara* is an extensive work on omens and portents, their effects, the rites and observances connected with them, and the means of averting them. It is divided into three parts according as the portents are celestial, atmospheric and terrestrial.

It has already been said that Vallālasena found an able teacher in Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa. This Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa was a resident of Vihāra-paṭṭaka on the bank of the Ganges and belonged to the Campāhaṭṭīya Gāñī of Varendra Brahmins. He was a Dharmādhyakṣa or Dharmādhikaraṇika (judge) under Vallālasena and wrote the *Hāra-latā* and the *Pitṛ-dayitā*. Of these two works, the former ' deals with the observance of impurity (aśauca) consequent upon birth and death, its duties and prohibitions, the period for which it is to be observed, the persons who are to be exempted from observing it, and other relevant topics '; while the latter, ' intended for the Sāma-vedic followers of Gobhila, is concerned chiefly with rites and observances connected with Srāddha or funeral ceremony ' and ' includes a treatment of general duties like mouth-washing (ācamana), teeth-cleaning (danta-dhāvana), ablution (snāna), daily prayers (sandhyā), offering to Pitṛs and Viśve-devāḥ (tarpaṇa and vaiśvadeva), the periodical Pārvaṇa-śrāddha, as well as eulogy of gifts. ' Besides these, Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa should also be credited with the authorship of two other Smṛti works, viz., *Vyavasthā-saṁgraha* (H. P. Shastri, *Notices of Sans. Mss., Second Series*, III, No. 291) and the *Cāturmāsya-paddhati* (*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1869, p. 137). It is to be noted that all these works of Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa are strictly Brahmanical, and no non-Brahmanical work is drawn upon in them.

very basis of the Hindu society[1], and his cause was taken up with great zeal by his son and successor Lakṣmaṇasena[2], it

[1] In connection with the contents of some spurious Purāṇas, viz., *Tārkṣya* (i. e. *Gāruḍa*), *Brāhma*, *Āgneya*, *Vaiṣṇava* (consisting of 23000 Ślokas) and *Liṅga* (of 6000 Ślokas), Vallālasena says in his *Dāna-sāgara* (fol. 3b–4a) that these works, dealing with initiation, consecration, ways of salvation for the Tantriks, testing of gems, fictitious genealogies, lexicography, grammar etc. and containing irrelevant and contradictory statements, were used as means of deception by Mīnaketana (or his followers) and others who were hypocrites, heretics (pāṣaṇḍa) and pseudo-ascetics. Thus Vallālasena testifies to the fact that long before his time the Hindu society came to be greatly influenced by the activities of the Tantrikas, Mīnaketana Matsyendranātha or Mīna-nātha ?) and others who went so far as to compose spurious Purāṇas with titles of the original ones in order to propagate their own ideas among the people.

[2] Though Lakṣmaṇasena himself did not write any independent work, he is said to have completed the *Adbhuta-sāgara* left unfinished by its author (see *Adbhuta-sāgara*, p. 4-granthe 'sminn asamāpta eva tanaye sāmrājya-lakṣmīṃ mudā ... ... asthāpayat । ... ... gaṅgāyāṃ viracayya nirjara-puraṃ bhāryānuyāto gataḥ ॥ śrīmallakṣmaṇasena-bhūpatir atiślāghyo yad-udyogato niṣpanno 'dbhuta-sāgaraḥ kṛtir asau vallāla-bhūmibhujaḥ ॥). It is highly probable that the *Dāna-sāgara* also was revised and improved with further addition of materials by Lakṣmaṇasena ; because there are quotations from the *Liṅga-purāṇa* in the *Dāna-sāgara*, though Vallālasena expressly mentions that the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, whose volume was expanded by the chapters on big donations treated of in the *Matsya-purāṇa* and which was thus no better than a digest on gifts, was not drawn upon, as the substance of its contents was already obtained from other Purāṇas [see *Dāna-sāgara*, fol. 3b- bṛhad api liṅga-purāṇaṃ matsya-purāṇoditair mahādānaiḥ । avadhā-(?dhī)rya labdha-sāra-dāna-nibandhetara-nibandham ॥].

The most important of the Smṛti-writers who flourished during the reign of Lakṣmaṇasena is Halāyudha who wrote the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* (ed. Benares, Saṃvat 1935), a work of great repute in Bengal. The opening verses of this work inform us that Halāyudha belonged to the Vatsa-gotra and was the son of Dhanañjaya, who married Ujjvalā and became a Dharmādhyakṣa or judge. Halāyudha had two elder brothers, Īśāna and Paśupati, of whom the former wrote a *Paddhati* on the rites relating to the daily observances of Brahmins (Śloka 24 - ... ... īśānaḥ kṛtavān dvijāhnika-vidhau jyeṣṭho 'paraḥ paddhatim), while the latter also wrote a *Paddhati* on Śrāddha and kindred topics (Śloka 24-bhrātā paddhatim agrajaḥ paśupatiḥ śrāddhādi-kṛtye vyadhāt) as well as another on Pāka-yajña (Śloka 43). Halāyudha, who was appointed by Lakṣmaṇasena as a Rāja-paṇḍita in his early life, raised to the position of Mahāmātya in his youth, and confirmed as Dharmādhikārin in his mature years (Ślokas 10, 12 and 14), wrote four more works, viz., *Mīmāṃsā-sarvasva*, *Vaiṣṇava-sarvasva*, *Śaiva-sarvasva* and *Paṇḍita-sarvasva* ; but of these we know almost nothing. Of the works of Īśāna and

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seems that the unaccommodating spirit[1] with which Vallālasena and his successor tried to meet the situation and save the Hindu society from degeneration, could hardly find favour with all grades of people[2] and check the force with which the Hindu

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Paśupati, the *Paddhati* of the former is lost, as well as those of the latter; but a *Daśa-karma-paddhati*, dealing with the Gṛhya ceremonies according to the Kāṇva-śākhā of the *Śukla Yajurveda*, is found ascribed to Rāja-paṇḍita Paśupati in some of the Mss. of the work. (For Mss. of this work, see History of Bengal, Vol. I, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 356, footnote 2).

In the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, of which there are Mss. as well as more printed editions than one, Halāyudha says that ' he wrote this work because he found that the Brahmins of Rāḍha and Varendra did not study the Veda and therefore did not know the Vedic rites properly '. So, in this work, which is meant for the Śukla-Yajurvedic Brahmins of the Kāṇva-śākhā, Halāyudha deals, in 40 sections, with the various daily observances of the Brahmins, such as the morning ablution, prayers, hospitality, study of the Veda, etc. as well as their ten domestic ceremonies known as Saṃskāras, and explains the meanings of the Vedic Mantras used on these occasions. As a matter of fact, the explanation of the Vedic Mantras forms the chief feature of this work.

(On Halāyudha's probable authorship of the *Saṃvatsara-pradīpa* see my aritiole in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXI, 1945, pp. 52-54

[1] An examination of the contents of the works of Vallālasena, Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, Īśāna, Paśupati and Halāyudha shows that these works are strictly Brahmanical and do not take into account those non-Brahmanical local rites and customs of long standing which were caused by the spread of Buddhism, Tantricism and various popular cults of local origin. These authors do not allow even Tantric influence to creep appreciably into their works, though Vallālasena himself testifies test to the fact that there was a great spread of Tantricism among the people and the Tantrikas began to propagate their own ideas, rites and customs even by writing fictitious Purāṇic works. Consequently, Vallālasena avoids all quotations from those Purāṇas, or parts thereof, which were influenced by Tantricism. Thus, Vallālasena says, the *Devī-purāṇa*, which was excluded from the lists of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas due to its treatment of sinful acts, was rejected by him because of its Tantric character (*Dāna-sāgara*, fol. 4a-tat-tat-purāṇopapurāṇa-saṃkhyā-bahiṣkṛtaṃ kalmaṣa-karma-yogāt । pāṣaṇḍa-śāstrānumataṃ nirūpya devī-purāṇaṃ na nibandh-(? ddh)am atra ॥) ; and the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* was utilised upto the chapters dealing with the Saptamī (-kalpa), while those on the Aṣṭamī and Navamī (-kalpa) were rejected on account of their imbibing Tantric influence [see *Dāna-sāgara*, fol. 3b - saptamyavadhi purāṇaṃ bhaviṣyam api saṃgṛhītam atiyatnāt । tyaktvāṣṭamī-navamyoḥ (?o navamyau) kanyau (? kalau) pāṣaṇḍibhir grastau (? graste) ॥]

[2] Tradition, as well as the evidence of the *Bṛhaddharma-purāṇa* (Vaṅgavāsī edition, III. 13-14) and the *Brahma-vaivarta-purāṇa* (Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's edition, Brahma-khaṇḍa, chapter 10), shows that long before the beginning of the 14th century A. D., people of different vocations and

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society was deviating from the right course. So we see that after the regime of these two Sena kings there is confusion all around, and Tantricism and the local cults gain ground all the more with the advent of the Muhammadans. An interesting picture of this period is reflected in the description of the Kali age as given in the *Bṛhaddharma-purāṇa*[1] (III. 19), which says :—

"In the Kali age ... ... all the Varṇas and Āśramas will take to false Dharma (3). ... ... All people will be prone to hunger and passion and, being at daggers drawn among themselves, will be bent on killing one another (5). ... ... Brāhmaṇas will have little knowledge of the Vedas and earn their livelihood by following the professions of Kṣatriyas and others (8). Women will be adulterous, scurrilous, and corrupted by superiors. Śūdras will preach Dharma and read the Purāṇic verses (9). They will explain the meanings of the Purāṇas, and other Śūdras will listen to them. They will teach the Śāstras such as grammar etc. to Brāhmaṇas (10). By these works of Śūdras the infatuated Brāhmaṇas will bring destruction on themselves; and the Śūdras will go to hell for ever (11). In the Kali age the Vedic courses

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religious beliefs were absorbed into the Hindu society in Bengal and given adequate positions as forming so many castes which were defined as mixed according to the usual Aryan nomenclature of castes in India. These new entrants into the Hindu society were the Karaṇas, Ambaṣṭhas, Gandhikas, Kaṃsakāras, Śaṅkhakāras, Kumbhakāras, Tantuvāyas, Karmakāras, Dāsas etc. who are said to have been 'adharma-saṃbhava' (*Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa* III. 14. 5) and 'varṇāśrama-bahiṣkṛta' (*Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa* III. 13. 47). It is natural that these people should have retained many of their non-Brahmanical rites and customs even after their absorptoin into the Hindu society.

1 Edited by Pañcānana Tarkaratna and published by the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta. Second edition, 1314 B. S.

The *Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa*, which is a Bengal work, was written most probably in Rāḍha in the latter half of the 13th century A. D. J. C. Roy in *Bhāratavarṣa* (a Bengali monthly journal), Vol. XVII, Part ii, p. 677, says that this Purāṇic work was composed a little after the thirteenth century A.D.

Though the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the *Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa* ends with chap. 14 (on the mixed castes) of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Vaṅgavāsī edition, the additional chapters (15-21) of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the latter edition must not be taken to be spurious, because these chapters are found in the great majority of Mss of this Purāṇa. For instance, see Dacca University Mss Nos. 319, 4199 and 4649; ASB MS No. 4127; and India Office Ms. No. 3402.

(or practices) will be eclipsed by many heretical religions ... ... (12). (The Śūdras) will create their own Śāstras and deities by means of their own wit, forsake the Dharma-śāstras and find fault with them (13). After creating Śāstras from non-Śāstras with Prākṛta (or vernacular or provincial) languages the wicked Śūdras[1] will explain the purport of Dharma (14). They will construct images of deities prescribed by non-scriptures, worship them, and, after forsaking the names of Kṛṣṇa and others, surely sing their glory (15). They will have their own Dharma destroyed by Yavanas and Pāṣaṇḍas. In the Kali age people will earn their livelihood by means of the male and female organs (16). People dressed (as preceptors) will impart Mantras to dishonest people out of greed for money. ... ... (17). ... ... When Kṛṣṇa will leave this earth, some fault-finding Bauddhas will establish their own faith which is outside all Dharma (20). Divergence of opinion will then be found among all the Purāṇas and the philosophical schools; and Sarasvatī (the goddess of learning) will be weeping out of sorrow (21). In order to remove her sorrow Śiva and Viṣṇu will be incarnated somewhere on earth in a family having the title Ācārya (22). She (i.e. Sarasvatī) will become the wife of Viṣṇu in the form of an Ācārya (i. e. Viṣṇusvāmī ?). The Ācārya named Śaṃkara (i. e. Śaṃkarācārya) will take up the stage of complete renunciation (23), and both of them will refute, with the help of the Nyāya philosophy, the doctrines of the Buddhists, who will consequently burn themselves (24). ... ... When these two Ācāryas will leave this earth, Kali, which robs the people of their virtue, will be predominant (28). From that time there will be gradual decrease of Dharma. ... ... (29). ... ... Brāhmaṇas will forsake the Vedas and take intoxicants (38). The earth, with her scanty output, will contract day by day. ... ... (39). ... ... Āśramins will be fallen from their respective Āśramas (stages of life) (40). With signs of castes and stages other than those of their own, people

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1 It is clear that the word 'Śūdra' here means the Buddhists and Jains. As a matter of fact, this word is used in the Purāṇic works to mean not only the fourth caste but also those members of the higher three castes who accept non-Brahmanical Dharma.

will roam about from greed. ... ... (41). ... ... Then the Varṇas (castes) will leave (this earth), the Yavanas will be predominant, and the gods will leave the earth covered only by Mlecchas (43)."

The *Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa* (III. 20. 15) further says: "Contact with the Yavanas and the language of these people–these two are said to be equal to wine. Food from the Yavanas is worse than these." It records the names of 36 castes which, though non-Brahmanical in origin and mentality, were admitted into the Hindu society (*Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa* III. 13); it permits Brahmins to worship deities with wine, meat, fish and human sacrifice in times prescribed by the Śāstras (*Bṛhad-dharma-p.* III. 6. 98) and allows them to impart, in times of distress, Mantras and religious instructions to Śūdras as well as to read Purāṇa before them (*Bṛhad-dharma-p.* III. 4. 22-23); and it prohibits cohabitation with Mleccha and Yavana women (*Bṛhad-dharma-p.* III. 6. 89).

The truth of above account contained in the *Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa* can be established by evidences derived from the Ghaṭaka-kula-śāstras, Vijayagupta's *Manasā-maṅgala*, Jayānanda's *Caitanya-maṅgala*, Vṛndāvana Dāsa's *Caitanya-bhāgavata* etc. These works testify to the great disturbance created by the Muhammadans in Bengal, to the popularity of local deities such as Maṅgala-caṇḍī, Viṣaharī, Vāśalī etc., and to the spread of Tantricism so much so that wine and meat were used by many in sacrifices and worships.

From what has been said above it appears that great confusion reigned in Bengal. People could hardly understand which rite or ceremony was Brahmanical and which was non-Brahmanical. Even among the Brahmanical ritualistic works there were differences of opinion. Hence it was necessary first to try to popularise the Varṇāśrama-dharma through the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, Purāṇas etc. It was also equally necessary to write such Smṛti Nibandhas as would treat of the Hindu rites, customs and ceremonies and bring about a compromise among the divergent opinions of the Purāṇas and Smṛti works. That both these means were equally adopted by the Hindus is shown by the

Bṛhad-dharma-purāṇa[1] and Kṛttivāsa, the famous poet of the Bengali *Rāmāyaṇa*[2], as well as by the works of Śūlapāṇi[3] and Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa[4], of whom the former wrote a large number of Smṛti treatises of varied lengths with a view to removing the mistakes caused by divergent ritualistic injunctions[5] as well as to dispelling the darkness of ignorance and doubt prevailing all around.[6] Śūlapāṇi not only recognises, with certain

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[1] The *Bṛhad-dharma-p.* (I. 26) tries to popularise the study of the *Rāmāyaṇa* because therein the entire Varṇāśrama-dharma has been given on the pretext of narrating the story of Rāma (tatra rāma-caritrasya vyapadeśena sarvaśaḥ ı sarve dharmāḥ samuddiṣṭā varṇāśrama-vibhāgaśaḥ ı.). It also regards the *Mahābhārata* as a code of Dharma and urges its study and the practice of its directions. (See *Bṛhad-dharma-p. I.* 30. 32 – bhārate dharma-saṁcayāḥ ; I. 25. 33–34).

[2] Kṛttivāsa says in his Ātma-vivaraṇa that he composed the *Rāmāyaṇa* for the instruction of the people (राजाज्ञाय रचे गीत सप्तकाण्डगान । ... ... लोक बुझावार तरे कृत्तिवास पण्डित ॥). See Kṛttivāsa-viracita *Rāmāyaṇa*, Ādi-kāṇḍa, ed. Nalini Kanta Bhattashali, Dacca 1936, p. 175 ; also Bhūmikā, p. 7).

[3] Śūlapāṇi's *Tithi-viveka* and *Śrāddha-viveka* are mentioned in Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa's *Smṛti-ratnahāra* which was written earlier than Rāyamukuṭa's *Amara-koṣa-ṭīkā*. Now, the *Amāra-koṣa-ṭīkā* being written (or rather begun) in 1431–32 A. D., the date of the *Smṛti-ratnahāra* is to be placed earlier. Consequently, the date 1375–1460 A. D. fixed by P. V. Kane for Śūlapāṇi is debatable.

[4] Besides writing commentaries on the *Kumāra-sambhava*, *Raghu-vaṃśa*, *Megha-dūta*, *Śiśupāla-vadha* and *Amara-koṣa*, Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa wrote an extensive Smṛti Nibandha entitled *Smṛti-ratnahāra* dealing with the determination of proper time for different rites and ceremonies, the different Māsakṛtyas, Aśauca, Śrāddha etc. (See H. P. Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sans. Mss. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, III, pp. 226–230, No. 2138).

In his *Śrāddha-tattva* and *Śuddhi-tattva* (*Smṛti-tattva*, I, pp. 213, 281 and 283) Raghunandana mentions a *Rāyamukuṭa-paddhati*, of which no Ms. has been found as yet. Whether this *Rāyamukuṭa-Paddhati* is the same as Rāyamukuṭa's *Smṛti-ratnahāra* cannot be said definitely until the references to the former have been traced in the latter.

For further information about Bṛhasapati Rāyamukuṭa see *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XVII, 1941, pp. 442–471.

[5] In the first introductory verse of his *Śrāddha-viveka-vyākhyā* Śrīnātha describes Śūlapāṇi as 'vyavasthā-dvaidha-sambhrānti-saṃtāna-ccheda-hetu'. See H. P. Shastri, *Notices of Sans. Mss. Second Series*, I, pp. 381–2, No. 376; Hrishikesh Shastri and Shiva Chandra Gui, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sans. Mss. in the Library of the Calcutta Sans. College*, II, pp. 396–7, No. 433.

[6] Cf. ajñāna-timira-grasta-śāstrārtha-pratipattaye ı
kṛteyaṃ dīpa-kalikā kali-kāla-malāpahā ıı
(which is the second introductory verse of Śūlapāṇi's *Dīpa-kalikā*).

restrictions, the authority of the Saṃhitās, Āgamas and Tantras, some of which he quotes in his Vrata-kāla-viveka and Durgotsava-viveka,[1] in order to support or supplement the directions of the Smṛti-saṃhitās, Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas which he has generally followed in his works,[2] but also includes in his works those highly popular rites and customs which were not admitted by his predecessors in the field of Smṛti but for which he found authority in the Purāṇas.[3]

Though Śūlapāṇi thus brought about innovations in Bengal Smṛti, his works became popular only in a somewhat limited

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[1] In the *Vrata-kāla-viveka* (Dacca University Ms No. 1578C, fol. 7b and 8b) verses have been quoted from the *Haya-śīrṣa-pañcarātra* and the *Īśāna-saṃhitā* in connection with the proper time for the Śiva-rātri-vrata. In the *Durgotsava-viveka* *Śūlapāṇi* quotes the Tantras and the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās (viz., *Matsya-sūkta*, *Śāradā-tilaka*, *Gavākṣa-tantra*, *Tantra*, *Nāradīya-kalpa*, *Mahākapila-pañcarātra* and *Kapila-pañcarātra*) to support or supplement the directions of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas. For example, the *Matsya-sūkta* is quoted to enumerate the places where the worship of Devī is forbidden; the *Śāradā-tilaka* is quoted for the Mantra used in the consecration of the image of Devī; the ' *Tantra* ' for a different composition of the ' Pañca-gavya '; the *Nāradīya-kalpa* for a list of the 'nine gems'; the *Mahākapila-pañcarātra* and *Kapila-pañcarātra* in connection with Homa and Homa-kuṇḍa; and so on.

[2] In such limited recognition of the Tantras Śūlapāṇi clearly follows the directions of the Purāṇas. For instance, the *Devī-bhāgavata* (Vaṅgavāsī edition, VII, 39. 28-31) says : " For the deliverance of those best Brahmins who were burnt by the curses of Dakṣa, Bhṛgu and Dadhīca, and were caused to deviate from the path of the Vedas, the Āgamas of the Śaivas, Vaiṣṇavas Sauras, Śāktas and Gāṇapatyas were written as steps (sopāna) by Śaṃkara. In some places of these works there are some portions which do not go against the Vedas. By accepting these (portions) the Vaidikas do not incur sin ".

That the above-mentioned direction of the Purāṇas was not a mere theory but was often followed in practice, is shown by Aparārka who says in his commentary (Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series edition, p. 17) on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* that he was liberal enough to supplement the Vedic customs and rituals with those from the sectarian literatures of the Vāmas, Dakṣiṇas and others, if the latter did not go against his own; but the customs which were contradictory to those recommended by his own Śāstras were to be discarded.

[3] For instance, Śūlapāṇi recognises the Dola and Rāsa as Hindu festivals and writes two Vivekas on these. For Mss of Śūlapāṇi's *Dola-yātrā-viveka* and *Rāsa-yātrā-viveka* see Dacca University Mss Nos. 177C and 3350 respectively. The authorities quoted in these two works are the following: *Skanda-purāṇa*, *Brahma-purāṇa*, *Devī-purāṇa*, *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi*, *Bhujabala-bhīma*, Bhṛgu, Nārāyaṇopādhyāya, *Hari-vaṃśa*, Vācaspatimiśra, Bhoja-rāja Rāja-mārtaṇḍa, *Utpala-kalikā*, *Varāha-purāṇa*, and Yamadagni.

circle and could not find favour with all grades of people on account of their non-recognition of those popular rites and customs for which no authority of the Smṛti works or Purāṇas could be found.[1] So Bengal was still badly in need of such bold Smṛti-writers as would approach their subject with a broad and liberal mind as well as with an accommodating spirit, in order that they might extend the scope of their subject to such an extent that it might conform as much as possible to the popular ideas and beliefs then prevailing in the country. But this want was not to be removed very soon. It was nearly a century later that Bengal found a true Smārta scholar in Śrīnātha Ācārya-Cūḍāmaṇi who studied Smṛti more to meet the demand of the Hindu society than to satisfy his own intellectual curiosity. As soon as Śrīnātha came of age, he found that though the success of an action or rite depended wholly on its right procedure,[2] the people round him were puzzled by the divergent views of Smṛti-writers and, being thus unable to find out the right method, followed their own sweet will or adhered to the methods handed down by generations or helplessly imitated their neighbours without caring to exercise their own power of judgment.[3] This state of the Hindu society

[1] Śrīnātha testifies to the fact that even among his followers Śūlapāṇi was often misunderstood or misinterpreted through fondness for bad logic or through jealousy or ignorance. (Cf. the verse —

kecit kutarkādhyavasāya + + nye dveśā(?ṣā)t pare gaḍḍarikā-pravāhāt।
ajñānataḥ kecana śūlapāṇer bhāṣyanti siddhāv apathād apetāḥ ॥

occurring towards the end of a Ms of Śrīnātha's *Śrāddha-viveka-vyākhyā*. - See Shastri and Gui, *Calcutta Sanskrit College Catalogue*, II, pp. 396–7, No. 433).

[2] This belief, which is rooted in Jaimini's *Pūrva mīmāṃsā*, is the guiding principle of all the writers of Brahmanical ritualistic works including the Smṛti Nibandhas.

[3] Cf. the verses—

saṃdeha-timirācchanna-śrāddha-kalpa-prakāśikā ।
jagaj-jāḍyāpahā kḷptā sasnehaṃ śrāddha-dī(pi)kā ॥

(occurring at the end of Śrīnātha's *Śrāddha-dīpikā*) ;

ācāra-dvaidha-saṃjāta-saṃdeha-timirāpahā ।
vibudhānanda-jananī kṛteyaṃ śrāddha-candrikā ॥

(occurring at the close of Śrīnātha's *Śrāddha-candrikā*) ;
kecit kutarkādhyavasāya + + nye dveśā (? ṣā)t pare gaḍḍarikā-pravāhāt
(occurring towards the end of the Calcutta Sanskrit College Ms of Śrīnātha's *Śrāddha-viveka-vyākhyā*) ;

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greatly pained Śrīnātha who consequently felt that with all his erudition in the Brahmanical ritualistic literature beginning with the *Pūrva-mīmāṃsā-sūtras* of Jaimini, he had to find out the right course for the people by breaking as far as possible the barriers of orthodoxy and adapting Smṛti to popular ideas and beliefs to the fullest possible extent. So, he boldly declared that tradition (pūrvāpara-kṛtatva) was useless in discriminating between right and wrong and that it was 'Śrutyartha-saṃvādi-nyāya' (i. e. logic in conformity with the meaning of Śruti) and 'Pramāṇa' (authority) that counted in determining the proper duties and conduct of the Hindus as well as the right procedures of their rites and customs.[1] But Śrīnātha was fully aware that these two criteria could only be applied in the case of those rites and customs which were originally Brahmanical or which had been recognised as such by the authors of the Purāṇas and Smṛti Saṃhitās and that there were many other customs of local growth which were independent of all Nyāya (logic) or Pramāṇa (authority). So, on the authority of Bṛhaspati, he declared with equal boldness the authoritativeness of those local customs which, though contradictory to the Vedic injunctions, were highly popular and time-honoured (deśa-prasiddha).[2] Judging with these criteria the whole mass of Hindu rites and customs Śrīnātha made numerous new and totally-unthought-of changes in Bengal

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... ... gaḍḍarikā-pravāha-bhramāpanodāya mama śramo 'yam ||
(occurring towards the beginning of Śrīnātha's *Vivekārṇava*);
śraddhāṃ budhā vipatha-gaḍḍarikā-pravāhe dūrād vihāya kurutādaram
atra gāḍham ||
occurring in the fourth introductory verse of Śrīnātha's *Kṛtyatattvārṇava*)·
and so on.

1 Cf. the concluding verse of Śrīnātha's *Śrāddha-candrikā*—
pūrvāpara-kṛtatvādi sarvam evāprayojakam |
sapramāṇam upādeyaṃ na grāhyaṃ tad-vinā-kṛtam ||

Cf. also the following verses occurring towards the beginning of Śrīnātha's *Vivekārṇava* :
śrutyartha-saṁvādini yo budhānāṁ naiyāyike vartmani pakṣapātaḥ |
tatrāsatāṁ gaḍḍarikā-pravāha-bhramāpanodāya mama śramo 'yam ||
smṛti-saṁgraha-ṭīkāsu prāyo nyāyā nirūpitāḥ |
mayā tad-avaśiṣṭānāṁ viveka iha tanyate ||
jaiminīya-mataṁ prāyo lekhyaṁ bhaṭṭādy-upaskṛtam |
yady apy atra tathāpy ete (? etad) ghaṭanā-pāṭavaṁ mama ||

2 See Śrīnātha's *Vivekārṇava*.

Smṛti. In some cases he rejected such old and time-honoured customs as could not stand the test of 'Śrutyartha-saṃvādi-nyāya' or 'Pramāṇa,'[1] sometimes he upheld the ancient views in preference to modern,[2] sometimes he made provisions with an eye to the actual practice of the people,[3] and sometimes he recommended

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[1] For instance, in his *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*. (Dacca University Mss. No. 4630), fol. 67a Śrīnātha says:

" yat tu - 'vṛścike śukla-pakṣe tu navānnaṃ śasyate budhaiḥ ।
apare kriyamāṇaṃ tu dhanuṣy eva kṛtaṃ bhavet ॥

iti vacanāt navānnāgama-nimittakam. śrāddhāntaraṃ haimantikānnena pṛthak kartavyam iti, tan na । śrāddha-bhede vidhi-gauravāpatteḥ ।।"

On this prohibition Govindānanda remarks in his *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, p. 264 -

"tathā *śrāddha-viveke — 'navānnāgama-nimittam api nityam iti vakṣyate' ity anena pṛthak śrāddham uktam ।
tasmāt sarva-śiṣṭair aṅgīkṛtaṃ sarva-deśeṣu pāramparya-kramāgatam ācāram unmūlayitum icchatām ādhunikānāṃ vacasi nādaraḥ kāryaḥ ।"

For other instances of this kind see Govindānanda's *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, p. 179 (yac ca śrīdatta-matānusāriṇā prācīnācāra-dūṣaṇa-grahilena ... ... ādhunikena kalpitaṃ tat sarva-deśīya-gobhila-pustakeṣu adṛṣṭatvāt bhaṭṭa-bhāṣyādīnām asaṃmatatvāc ca upahasanīyam eva ।), *Dāna-kaumudī*, p. 98 (atrādhunikāḥ - ... ... prācīnācāram ullaṅghya vyavasthāpayanti, tad aśuddham), and so on.

[2] Cf., for instance, Govindānanda's remark in his *Dāna-kaumudī*, p. 111— "na ca paryukṣaṇam apy ādau na syād iti vācyam, homānantarasyaiva vyudāsād iti prācīna-matam eva pramāṇam ādhunikoktaṃ heyam iti."

[3] Cf., for instance, Śrīnātha's allowance for the consumption of fish by the people except on some Parvan days enumerated in two verses (viz., 'caturdaśy aṣṭamī caiva' and 'strī-taila-māṃsa-saṃbhogī') quoted by him from the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, and Govindānanda's remark on the same in his *Varṣa-kaumudī*, p. 210- " viṣṇu-purāṇe - caturdaśy aṣṭamī caiva amāvasyātha pūrṇimā ।

parvāṇy etāni rājendra ravi-saṃkrāntir eva ca ।।
strī-taila-māṃsa-saṃbhogī parvasv eteṣu vai pumān ।
viṇmūtra-bhojanaṃ nāma prayāti narakaṃ mṛtaḥ ॥

atrādhunikāḥ 'niṣedho' yaṃ snānādi-vidhivat puṇya-kāla eva. tataḥ paraṃ matsyādīnām upabhogo nirvivāda eva' iti lobhādhyāpita-kutarkāḥ śiṣṭācāraṃ vilopayanti । tan mandam । "

Bengal has been a fish-consuming country from ancient times. According to Bṛhaspati, the people of the eastern countries were fish-eaters (matsyādāś ca narāḥ pūrve । - For the verses of Bṛhaspati on the customs and conduct of the people of different parts of India, see Devaṇṇa-bhaṭṭa's *Smṛti-candrikā*, ed. L. Śrīnivāsācārya, Mysore 1914-21, Vol. I, p. 25, and Bhaṭṭa Nīlakaṇṭha's *Vyavahāra-mayūkha*, ed. P. V. Kane, Bombay 1926, p. 7). As a matter of fact, fish was so widely consumed in Bengal that a strict Brahmanist like Bhaṭṭa

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highly popular and time-honoured customs even though they could not be supported by Nyāya or Pramāṇa.[1] But in spite of

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Bhavadeva did not find anything wrong in the eating of fish and meat even by a Brahmin. Bhavadeva says: " But the statement of Chāgaleya, viz., 'Meat should not be taken unnecessarily; it may be taken in a funeral ceremony; a Brahmin, who takes meat on other occasions, should undergo the Prājāpatya (penance)'; that of Yājñavalkya, viz., 'A (Brahmin) should fast for three (consecutive) days, in case he takes fish according to his own sweet will'; that of Manu, viz., 'A twice-born, who knows the law, should not take meat in normal times against rule; because by taking meat against rule he is eaten up, after death, in a helpless condition by those (animals whose flesh he has eaten)'; and also that of Vyāsa, viz., 'By (enjoying) women, and (besmearing) oil (on the body) and eating meat on the Amāvāsyā, Pūrṇimā, Caturdaśī, Aṣṭamī and Saṃkrānti, a man is born as a Cāṇḍāla; ... ...'; -- all this (prohibition) is meant for the prohibited (days) Caturdaśī etc. ... ... So it is understood that there is no crime in the eating of fish and meat ". (*Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa*, ed. Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi 1927, pp. 67-68). The *Bṛhaddharmapurāṇa* also allows even Brahmins to take fish and meat under certain restrictions, saying: " One should not eat fish and meat on the Amāvāsyā, Pūrṇimā, Caturdaśī, Dvādaśī, Aṣṭamī, Sunday, Saṃkrānti and all other auspicious days. One should never take fish, meat, Masūra, Māṣa, Nimba, Ārdraka and oil on Sundays. A Brahmin should eat Rohita, Śakula, Saphara and other fish which are white and have scales ". (*Bṛhaddharma-purāṇa*, Vaṅgavāsī ed., III. 5. 44-46). The great spread of Tantricism in Śrīnātha's days probably also encouraged people to take meat, fish etc. at any time they liked. So, following Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva, Śrīnātha explained the verses of the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* as liberally as possible.

Cf. also Govindānanda's refutation of Śrīnātha's view as regards the use of certain Mantras by Śūdras in funeral ceremonies:- " ādhunikas tu - 'arghyārthaṃ pitṛ-pātreṣu preta-pātraṃ prasecayet । ye samānā iti dvābhyām etaj jñeyaṃ sapiṇḍanam ॥' iti bhaviṣyapurāṇān mantra-dvayasya pradhāna-śarīra-ghaṭakatvāvadhāraṇāt tatrādhikāra-bodhaka-vidhinaiva strī-śūdrayor ye samānā iti mantra-dvaya-pāṭhe adhikāraḥ kalpyate । ata eva anayaivotsṛjerann iti pāraskare eva-kāreṇa vākyāntara-nirāsāt vṛṣotsarge enaṃ yuvānam iti mantrapāṭhe śūdrādhikāra ityāhuḥ । tan mandam ! " (*Śrāddha-kaumudī*, Bibliotheca Indica ed., pp. 436-7).

It is to be noted here that the *Bṛhaddharma-purāṇa* (III. 4. 22-23) allows Brahmins to impart Mantras to Śūdras in times of distress.

[1] See, for instance, *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* (Dacca University Ms No. 4630, fol. 53b), wherein Śrīnātha recommends the beginning of the Lakṣmīvrata on the Bhādra-śuklāṣṭamī without citing any authority. But Govindānanda rejects such recommendation saying: 'tasyām aṣṭamyām ārabhya kṛṣṇāṣṭamī-paryantaṃ lakṣmīvratam ācarantītyācāraḥ, mūlaṃ na dṛṣṭam ity upekṣitam ' (*Varṣa-kaumudī*, Bibl. Ind. ed., p. 319).

all his reformed ideas Śrīnātha could not look upon the Tantras with as much respect as was due to these works in his days. Like Śūlapāṇi he regarded Śruti and Smṛti (including Purāṇa) as authorities on Dharma and used Tantric works only to support or supplement their directions[1]; but he did never give these works a higher position in any case or admit any rite which was originally Tantric.

Whatever Śrīnātha's views might have been as regards the Tantras and the Tantric rites, he was never pardoned for the innovations he tried to bring about in Bengal Smṛti. His works, which created a stir in Bengal, were severely criticised by some of his contemporaries and immediate successors, of whom Govindānanda, Raghunandana and Acyuta Cakravartin deserve special mention. Of these three scholars the first, with his Vedic inclinations, could hardly tolerate the reformed views of Śrīnātha. Consequently, he called Śrīnātha 'Ādhunika' (modern, or holding up-to-date views), and characterised him with such expressions as 'expert in finding fault with old customs for the sake of fame', 'willing to uproot those customs which were followed by all cultured men in all countries and which were handed down by generations', 'teaching bad logic out of greed', etc.[2] and often refuted his views with such terms as 'taddheyam', 'tan mandam', 'tad upahasanīyam eva', etc.

It is clear from these terms and expressions used by Govindānanda in connection with Srīnātha that the latter was expected

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[1] For instance, the *Gāruḍa-tantra*, *Rudra-yāmala*, and *Śaivāgama* are quoted in the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*. In the introduction to his *Dāna-candrikā* Śrīnātha says that he wrote this work after consulting the *Matsya-tantra* etc. It is to be noted that Śrīnātha uses the Tantric works very sparingly.

[2] See the line 'kecit khyāti-grahilāḥ prācīnācāra-dūṣaṇe paṭavaḥ' occurring towards the end of the Dacca University Ms. of Govindānanda's commentary on Śūlapāṇi's *Śrāddha-viveka* and pointing unmistakably to Śrīnātha.

See also *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, p. 179—yac ca śrīdatta-matānusāriṇā prācīnācāra-dūṣaṇa-grahilena ... ... ādhunikena kalpitam ... ... ; *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, p. 264 – tasmāt sarva-śiṣṭair aṅgīkṛtaṁ sarva-deśeṣu pāramparya-kramāgatam ācāram unmūlayitum icchatām ādhunikānāṁ vacasi nādaraḥ kāryaḥ : *Varṣa-kaumudī*, p. 216 – atrādhunikāḥ ... ... iti lobhādhyāpita-kutarkāḥ śiṣṭācāraṃ vilopayanti .. ... ; and so on,

to acquire fame and to exercise great influence on the Hindu society. As a matter of fact, Govindānanda looked upon Śrīnātha as a great rival who stood in the way of his establishing his own views among the people.[1]

Raghunandana also refuted his teacher's views on many occasions but not so vociferously as Govindānanda. He seems to have made it a point to refer to his teacher's opinions wherever necessary and sometimes apologised to his readers for going against some of his teacher's views, thus testifying to the great hold that Śrīnātha had on the society.

In his *Dāya-bhāga-siddhānta-kumuda-candrikā* Acyuta Cakravartin also criticises and often refutes Śrīnātha's views as expressed in his commentary on the *Dāya-bhāga*. As a matter of fact, Acyuta looks upon Śrīnātha as a great rival and tries hard to establish his own views against those of Śrīnātha.

III Śrīnātha's Influence on the Posterity

Though Śrīnātha was thus looked upon by his contemporaries and immediate successors as a very prominent figure in the field of Smṛti and expected to have a very bright future, his works were soon eclipsed by those of his worthy pupil Raghunandana, whom Śrīnātha educated with all his learning and affectionate care, into whom he infused his reformed ideas together with his 'bad logic', and who thus grew up into a far more vastly learned Smārta scholar with highly critical acumen, a greater Naiyāyika, and a more worthy reformer with highly liberal views than his teacher. With his thorough knowledge of the entire Brahmanical ritualistic literature (including the Purāṇas and the Nibandhas) and with the judicious application of the principles of Mīmāṁsā in cases of divergence of opinions, Raghunandana was able to arrive at such logical conclusions as could hardly be challenged by his contemporaries or successors. Raghunandana's vast scholarship, unlike that of his teacher, made him respectful of the popular and time-honoured Brahmanical customs and taught him to give due consideration to these with

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[1] Cf. the verse—

kecit khyāti-grahilāḥ prācīnācāra-dūṣaṇe paṭavaḥ ।
mama mataṃ tiṣṭhāpayiṣor vācaṃ santo 'nugṛhṇantu ॥

occurring towards the end of the Dacca University Ms. of Govindānanda's commentary on Śūlapāṇi's *Śrāddha-viveka*.

the help of all his resources. He never overlooked the actual state of society round him but always remembered that the science of Law, like grammar, is based on usage, that no successful jurist or law-giver has ever been guided by his own *a priori* speculations, and that the business of a true law-giver is not so much to create laws as to adapt them to the needs and circumstances of the people for whom his laws are meant. Consequently we see that as on the one hand Raghunandana gives due consideration to the Brahmanical rites and customs then prevailing in this Province, so also on the other he acknowledges the authority of Tantras (including the Saṁhitās and Āgamas) in almost all kinds of injunctions - religious, social, personal or political -, sometimes gives these works greater importance than even the Purāṇas and Smṛti-Saṁhitās, and admits some of the most popular Tantric rites (such as Tāntrikī Dīkṣā) into his works.[1] Thus Raghunandana's works satisfied the demands of the Hindu society in Bengal and threw Śrīnātha's works into the background.

With whatever amount of respect Śrīnātha's successors might have looked upon him, his works were not buried in oblivion immediately after his death. An examination of Raghunandana's works shows that in spite of all his differences of opinions he not only looked upon Śrīnātha as an authority in many cases[2] but plagiarised, on several occasions, long extracts from his teacher's works.[3] Verbal similarity is sometimes found even between the

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[1] For the nature and extent of the influence of Tantras on Raghunandana's works see my article in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, IX, 1933, pp. 678-704.

[2] See, for instance, *Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 31 (yat tu ' caturthī-saṃyutā kāryā ... ... kvacit ... ' iti brahma-vaivarta-vacanaṃ pañcamī-yutāniṣedhakaṃ tad vināyaka-vrata-param iti guru-caraṇāḥ) which refers to Śrīnātha's *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*, fol. 29a (yat tu brahma-vaivarta-vacanaṃ ' caturthī-saṃyutā kāryā ... ... kvacit ... ' ... ... ityādi tad vināyaka-vrata viṣayam), *Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 357 (yena vāsasā snānaṃ kṛtaṃ jalasthasya tenaiva tarpaṇam iti kṛtya-tattvārṇavaḥ) which refers to *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*, fol. 92b; *Smṛti-tattva*, II, p.5 (which refers to *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*, fol. 30b); and so on.

[3] See, for instance, *Smṛti-tattva*, I, pp. 35 (iyam eva skanda-ṣaṣṭhī ... ... iti brahma-vaivarta-vacanāt = *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*, fol. 29b skanda-ṣaṣṭhī tu ... ... iti brahma-vaivarta-vacanāt),104 (... ravi-vārādy-upavāsa-niṣedhas tu ... ... iti jaimini-vacanāt = *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*, fol. 33a ravi-vāre ... ... iti smṛteḥ), 140 (= *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*, fol. 17b-18a), 376-7 (= *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*, fol. 92a), 769 (= *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* fol. 10a) and so, on.

works of Śrīnātha and Govindānanda. So, it is evident that Śrīnātha exercised great influence on his immediate successors. That Śrīnātha's works continued to be held in high esteem and read with interest by the successors of Raghunandana is shown not only by the references made to Śrīnātha or his works in the works of Raghunātha Sārvabhauma, Gopāla Nyāya-pañcānana, Bhavadeva Nyāyālaṁkāra Bhaṭṭācārya and others[1] but also by the recent discovery of Mss. of Śrīnātha's works in different parts of Bengal.

Śrīnātha's fame as a great Smārta scholar was not confined in this Province but traversed far beyond its limits. Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Āḍavalya (son of Rāmakṛṣṇa) mentions Ācārya-Cūḍāmaṇi as an authority in the Kāla-khaṇḍa of his *Puruṣārtha-cintāmaṇi*, which was written by him for the Brahmins of Southern India.[2] Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa also refers to 'Ācārya-Cūḍāmaṇi' and his '*Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*' in his *Nirṇaya-sindhu*.[3]

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[1] See Raghunātha Sārvabhauma's *Smārta-vyavasthārṇava* (Dacca University Ms No. 2126), fols. 2b, 3b, 14b; Gopāla Nyāya-pañcānana's *Ācāra nirṇaya* (Dacca University Ms No. 327A), fol. 9b, *Āśauca-nirṇaya* (Dacca University Ms No. 327C) fol. 42a, *Tithi-nirṇaya* (Dacca University Ms No. 327G), fols. 113a-b, 119b-120a; *Candana-dhenu-dāna* (an anonymous work- Dacca University Ms No. 4475), fols. 1b-2a.

For Bhavadeva Nyāyālaṁkāra Bhaṭṭācārya's work referring to 'Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi' see Haraprasad Shastri, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, III, p. 194, No. 2096.

A *Tattva-kṛtyārṇava* (*Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* ?) is quoted as an authority in the *Sāra-saṃgraha* (fol. 50b) of Gorakṣa Śarman, son of Ānanda Paṇḍita (see H. P. Shastri, *Descr. Cat. of Sans. Mss, ASB*, III, p. 257, No 2161); the *Ācāra-candrikā* and the *Śrāddha-candrikā* are mentioned among the authorities at the beginning of an anonymous Smṛti work (see H. P. Shastri, *op. cit.*, III, p. 327, Nos. 2209 and 2210); and so on.

[2] See H. P. Shastri, *Descr. Cat. of Sans. Mss, ASB*, III, p 332, No. 2216. See also R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sans. Mss*, VII, pp. 137-9, No. 2369.

[3] See *Nirṇaya-sindhu* (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press edition), pp. 4, 96, 127-8, 221, 426 (for references to 'Cūḍāmaṇi' or 'Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi'), and pp. 126, 128, 129, 188 (for references to the '*Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*').

THE SANSKRIT EQUIVALENTS OF TWO PĀLI WORDS*

BY

D. D. KOSAMBI

In this note, new Sanskrit equivalents are proposed for the Pāli words *sammāpāso* and *vassakāra*. The first of these is usually restored as *samyak-pāśa*, on the analogy of the eightfold path, and such equivalences as sammāsambuddha = samyak-sambuddha. The second is Sanskritized as Varsakāra, being the name of a high brahmin minister of king Ajātaśatru.

I. *sammāpāso* = *śamyāprāsaḥ*

A famous gāthā of the Kosalasamyutta reads: *assamedham purisamedham sammāpāsaṁ vājapeyam* । *niraggaḷam mahārambhā na te honti mahapphalā* ॥. Here the Buddha preaches against the five great *yajñas* which, in his view, give no fruit that can compensate the killing. The passage, of course, may be of later composition, but even so must have been founded in fairly early tradition, for the fight against fire-sacrifices in general had long been won when the Buddhist canon was officially edited. Of the five, the first is clearly the *aśvamedha*, the second the *puruṣamedha*, and the fourth, the *vājapeya*. All these are well known to the vedic and Brāhmanic ritual, though the second had gone out of fashion. The other two are not known under the restored names *samyakpāśa* and *nirargala*. The question then is: did the writer of the gāthā make a mistake through ignorance or are these sacrifices actually to be recognized, perhaps under some other name?

Patañjali on Pāṇini 4 1. 33 gives a different list of five great yajñas: *sarveṇa ca gṛhasthena pañca mahāyajñā nirvartyāḥ, yac cādaḥ sāyaṁ-prātar-homa-caru-puroḍāśān nirvapati tasyāśāriṣṭe*. Now it cannot be argued that this casts any doubt on the gāthā list; these are modest householder's sacrifices, much more restricted in scope and expense than the others, which are royal prerogatives weighing

* This paper was originally destined for the Gode Festschrift, and is still dedicated to Prof. P. K. Gode, true scholar and good friend. —D. D. K.

heavily upon the subject population. ' If we took Patañjali's list as valid on all occasions, we should have to abandon even the three great *yajñas* identified above. The five principal *yajñas* of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa [6. 2. 1. 18] are merely a classification by the five principal sacrificial animals, whence even the *vājapeya* is not properly included therein, though well known to the Brāhmaṇa. In the Manusmṛti 3. 69–71 the sacred number five of the mahāyajñas is still retained but the sacrifices have been sublimated to an idealized position: *adhyāpanaṁ brahmayajñaḥ pitṛyajñastu tarpaṇam; homo daivo balir bhauto nṛyajño'tithi-pūjanam.* This can give no information about the original five great sacrifices, beyond their number.

A reasonable conjecture is possible about the fifth in Buddha's series, *nirargala.* I submit that this could only mean the later form of the *aśvamedha,* so well-known from its description in classical Sanskrit literature, as contrasted with the original where the main function was the actual killing of the horse, just like the killing of any other victim at the sacrifice. In the later form. the effects of the sacrifice are greatly heightened by first setting the horse free (unbridled = *nirargala*) for a certain period, conquering those who opposed the horse's passage. A parallel is found in other places and times with the human sacrifice, where the victim has a period of the freest enjoyment of pleasures before being killed; rudimentary traces of this survive even into modern times in connection with those agrarian festivals which are derived from fertility rites. Finally we can demonstrate specific use of the adjective in connection with the *aśvamedha,* as for example in the Rāmopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata (Crit. ed. 3 275. 69 od) *daśāśvamedhān ājahre jārūthyān sa nirargalān.* Rāma himself is credited in the epic with having followed the later fashion. In Ṛgveda i. 162–3, the oldest aśvamedha did not allow the horse to wander free, being a direct sacrifice.

There remains the *sammāpāso.* To Brahmaśrī V. S. Rāma-candra Śāstrigal of Bangalore, I owe the suggestion that we should see here *śamyāprāsa* or *°parāsa.* Several references can be found in liturgical texts: Āśvalāyana śrauta sūtra 3. 10. 9: *āhavanīyam avadipyamānam arvāk śamyāparāsād idanta ekampāra*

ūta ekam iti saṃvapet ॥. Kātyāyana śrauta sūtra 15 9. 9: *āhavanīyād vā purastāc chamyāprāse śamyāprāsa āgneya-saumya-sāvitra-bārhaspatya-tvāṣṭra-vaiśvānarā yathoktam* ॥ (cf. also Ṣaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa 2. 10 and com.). Just what the act was, is not clear but it seems to have been of considerable importance, first because of its association with the river Sarasvatī: Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa 25. 13. 2 *sa dakṣiṇena tīreṇa āgneyenāṣṭākapālena śamyāparāsīyāt*. A refuge of that name is placed on the west bank of the Sarasvatī in Bhāgavatapurāṇa 1. 7. 2 *brahmanadyām sarasvatyām āśramaḥ paścime tate* । *śamyāprāsa iti prokta ṛṣīṇām satravardhanaḥ* ॥. One may recall here the story of Bṛhaddevatā vii. 58-9 which shows Vyaṃsa (who had become king of Videha, a country then outside the Aryan pale, by a curse of Vasiṣṭha) being allowed to sacrifice on the banks of the Sarasvatī by favour of Indra Vaikuṇṭha.

While *śamyāprāsa* is some act of ritual casting of a rod or measurement which has given its name to the entire yajña, at least regards Magadhan tradition contemporary with the Buddha, there are other elements of sanctity in the name. *Śamyā* means a wooden wedge, rod, or peg, presumably from the wood of the *śamī* tree (*Prosopis spicigera* Lin. or *Mimosa suma* Roxb.) which is specially related to the fire-sacrifice. Just as *śampāka* has been read for *śamyāka*, the rare word *śampā* for lightning may originally have been *śamyā*. *Śamīgarbha* is an epithet of fire supposed thereby to be peculiarly resident in the wood, *agnigarbhā śamīm iva*. The moving upper part of the fire-plough (*araṇī*) is to be made of *śamī* wood. The sanctity of the tree and its uses in divination, for images, and even for specially potent tooth-sticks are attested by Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṃhitā: 29. 11, 53. 87, 54. 83, 54. 85, 59. 5, 85. 6.

Our identification *śamyāprāsa* is thus quite reasonable, taking note of the fact that it was a rare and expensive *mahāyajña* for kings.

II. *Vassakāra = Vaśyakāra*

The Brahmin Vassakāra appears as Magadha-mahāmātya during the last years of Buddha's life. Even after the Buddha's death, according to *Majjhimanikāya* 108, he was chief minister at

the time when Ajātaśatru was fortifying his older capital Rājagṛha against possible attack by the Pradyota king. Earlier, in the *Mahāparinibbāṇasutta* [*Dīgha-nikāya* 16], he appears associated with another chief minister Sunīdha. The two are engaged in carrying out Ajātaśatru's carefully thought out measures against the Licchavi confederacy, a principal result being the foundation of Paṭna on the Ganges. The city is actually being laid out as the Buddha passes through on the last journey of his life. Apart from the obvious strategic value of the site, the aṭṭhakathās give a further plausible explanation : that trade was greatly hindered by dual control of the river, both the Licchavis and the king collecting taxes on all goods consigned to the emporium [*puṭabhedanam* = a place where bundles of merchandise are opened for trade]. The commentary goes on to give further details of the Licchavi campaign. The same minister Vassakāra was exiled in simulated disgrace by Ajātaśatru, ingratiated himself with the Licchavi oligarchs, set them against each other so that they no longer attended to business in common assembly. Ajātaśatru's army then marched in unopposed. The story itself recalls the capture of besieged Babylon for Darius by his noble Zopyrus, as narrated at the end of book III by Herodotus. Whatever the actual truth of the Magadhan story, it is undeniably set in a period of decline for the independent oligarchies, with the decay of tribal institutions, the growth of strong monarchies, and a tendency towards " universal " empire.

The name of the minister is generally restored as Varṣakāra, "rainmaker." In that sense, *varṣakāra* applies to a cloud or to the cricket that chirps before a rain. It could, therefore, apply as well to certain frogs that croak before a rain, and chanting Brahmins are compared to such frogs by a famous hymn, Ṛgveda vii. 103. One may further point to the frog signet on some punch-marked coins of the pre-Mauryan period, and to the Māṇḍūkya-upaniṣad, which would seem to complete a secondary proof of the restoration.

Nevertheless, I propose *vaśyakāra* (better *vaśyakara* or *vaśyakārin*) as the proper Sanskritization of *vassakāra*. Such an equivalent for the *ssa* is clearly and uniquely to be found in Vipassī = Vipaśyī

for the name of a legendary former Buddha (Dīgha-nikāya 14). My principal justification is the story of winning over the Licchavis. The tradition cannot be questioned that the Licchavis were conquered by the treachery of a Brahmin minister, and *vaśyakāra* would mean "he who subjugates or wins over," a name invented after the event became accepted history. After all, the event itself belongs to the period after the passing of the Buddha, but long before the time of Aśoka, hence to a period for which memory of details was likely to be rather faint. The actual trick of sending a minister in supposed disgrace to cause dissension in the enemy's camp is found carefully illustrated in a famous brahminical work on *nīti*, the *Pañcatantra*; it is the main theme of the entire third tantra, the *Kākolūkiyam*. The technique of breaking up dangerous saṃghas, the Licchavis included, by sowing discord through special agents, is the theme of Artha-śāstra XI.

Vassakāra seems to have been the first Brahmin to hold the position of a political minister. Tāranātha's history of Buddhism (tr. A. Schiefner, p. 3) reports Aśoka as having been under the evil influence of a minister Bhṛgurākṣasa, by which might be meant a Bhārgava brahmin, (though we have Bhārgava potters also as in *Majjh*. 140). But this is unquestionably the earlier of the two Aśokas who introduce so much confusion into Buddhist records, and I have shown how the name might be explained by a similarity of signets on punch-marked coins; the earlier or Kālāsoka is probably a Śaiśunāga, perhaps the same as the Kākavarṇi of the far more confused purāṇa tradition. Afterwards brahmin ministers are commoner, the most famous being Viṣṇugupta Cāṇakya. The Śuṅga dynasty ends by Brahmin ministers usurping the throne, the Kāṇvāyanas who set so handy an example to the Peshwas.

The Licchavis maintained their prestige as a superior Aryan tribe for a whole millennium after the Buddha, as shown by the special honour accorded to and derived from the princess Kumāra devī in the earlier Gupta Inscriptions. But the Magadhan Brahmins were already being known in the earlier age by the contemptuous designation of *brahmabandhu*, precisely for their association with extra-vedic *vrātyas* such as the Licchavis. To judge from the names given for characters of like standing, Vassakāra should have been given either by a *gotra* name or by

double nomenclature. For example, the brigand Aṃgulimāla is Gārgya Maitrāyaṇīputra [*Majjh.* 86]; Sāriputta is really Upatissa Sāriputta, his friend Puṇṇa Mantāniputta [*Majjh.* 24]. The system of designation by the mother's *gotra* name is supported by the vaṃśa in the Bṛhad-āraṇyaka-upaniṣad 6. 5, not to mention the later (and southern) Sātavāhana inscriptions. We must distinguish local customs from later uniformized regulations such as are sanctified in the Manusmṛti, which goes to the extent of deriving quite well-known tribes as mixed castes. Thus Ms. 10.22 so treats Jhalla, Malla, Nicchivi, and Draviḍa, of which the last needs no comment; the Mallas were a famous tribe in the days of the Buddha, and Nicchivi is undoubtedly to be emended as Licchavi. Guilds that developed out of provincial or tribal organizations are treated in the same manner, i. e. Ms. 10. 17 for Māgadha [traders], 10. 15 for Vaideha and Ābhīra, 10. 21 for Āvantya. The Pukkasa of Ms. 10. 18 and 10. 38 might be the lowly workers' guild of *Majjh.* 129, or even be connected with a Gandhāran tribe as in *Majjh.* 140.

In fact, the whole *gotra* organization seems to differ, for Magadha of those days, from anything now sanctioned in brahminical scritpures. Buddha's personal name in the Pāli tradition is everywhere Gotama, but in *Majjh.* 14 it is taken as his *gotra* name, which would normally be permissible, though his father is nowhere thus designated. But his aunt and stepmother is Mahāprajāpatī Gotamī, apparently of the Gotama gotra; whence his deceased mother Māyā must also have been a Gotamī. So, we have either marriage within a *gotra* (in spite of Bodhāyana's "*gulamānāṃ sarveṣām avivāhaḥ*") or the derivation of Gotama as Gotamīputra. The former possibility would not have been mentioned at all but for the tradition of brother-sister marriages among the Śākya founders of Kapilavatthu (Dīgha-nikāya 3). This is also to be seen among the Iranians of the same period, as for example from the story of Hutōsā, or the saint Ardavīraz. A rather far-fetched attempt may be made to show some contact with the Iranians by pointing to the inscriptions of Darius I, which mention three distant but apparently Aryan groups of Sakas: *sakā tigrakhodā, sakā homavṛgā, sakā tyey taradraya;* the Elamite word for Śaka in the same inscriptions is Sakka exactly

as in Pāli, the Babylonian being Gimirri. We know from the Mauryan inscriptions that officers from Iran served in Western India, while the Maga Brahmins from Śākadvīpa mentioned in the Sāmba-purāṇa as settled on the Candrabhāgā (adhya 2. 25, 26) are surely Magian priests of the sun - a deity whose images are to be made in Iranian dress, according to Varāhamihira. However, it is not necessary to believe in the improbable Iranian contact with or influence upon the Śākyas (the name itself being Sanskritized from the Pāli Sakka). Herzfeld ("Zoroaster and His World," Princeton, 1947; p. 119) gives an explanation which could apply as well to India: "The Iranians, when immigrating, superposed themselves upon an aboriginal population with matriarchal family. Their endogamy is not only foreign to all other strictly exogamous nations of the IE language, but something prohibited ... Brother-and-sister marriage results from reconciling the two opposed principles of inheritance: it enables the son to inherit from his father as son of his father's sister. But never do children of the same mother marry." Here, we have at least pointed to a legendary exception to the custom among "nations of the I.E. language." In the Pabbajjāsutta of the Suttanipāta, which belongs to the oldest portion of the Pāli canon, we find the Buddha's real gotra and family given explicitly in his own words: *ādiccā nāma gottena, sākiyā nāma jātiyā.* Possibly, the brahmin custom of citing the mother's *gotra* name may indicate a survival of group-marriage, but these speculations carry us too far from the original purpose, which was merely to show that Vassakāra is not named as he should have been by contemporary usage. His nickname is, therefore, the more likely to have been invented after the conquest of the Licchavis, as was Aṃgulimāla's from his necklace made of the little fingers of his victims. No name like *varṣakāra* is found in any of the extant gotra lists.

One part of Herzfeld's statements is not quite true. Herodotus reports explicitly (iii. 31) that Cambyses married 'his full sister. the daughter both of his father and his mother. It was not the custom of the Persians before his time, to marry their sisters'. Phaedima, daughter of Otanes, had been married (iii. 68) to Cambyses and was taken to wife, together with the rest of Cambyses'

wives by the Maguś Bardiya, pseudo-Smerdis. Darius killed the Maguś and married (iii, 88) ... two daughters of Cyrus, Atossa and Artystonè ; of whom Atossa had been married twice before, once to Cambyses her brother, and once to the Maguś... He married also Parmys, daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus : and likewise took to wife [Phaedima] '. Now note that Cyrus was himself son of his predecessor's daughter. Alexander of Macedon married Statira, daughter of the last Achaemenid Darius. He had a son by a mistress Barsiné ; but his widow Roxana, who was herself with child by Alexander, caused only Statira who was not and Statira's sister (not married to Alexander) to be assassinated after Alexander's death, ignoring the low-born Barsine and her son. All this points to just one conclusion, that in spite of patriarchal rulers, the people of the Persian empire must have preserved a tradition of *succession to the throne through the female heir.* This might give the correct translation of (Darius I) : *duvitālaranam vayam khśāyathyā āmahya* (Behistūn, 4) : 'we have been kings in the double line,' that is, by mother-right as well as father-right.

RASAKĀMADHENU, A WORK ON ALCHEMY BY CŪḌĀMAṆI MIŚRA AND ITS DATE — Between A. D. 1500 and 1700

BY

P. K. GODE

A work on alchemy called the *Rasakāmadhenu* by Śrī Cūḍāmaṇi, son of Harirāma, and grandson of Balabhadra was edited and published by Vaidya Jādavaji Trikamji Ācārya of Bombay in 1925 (pages 548). The editor does not record any information[1] about the author and his date. He only states that he has based his edition on two MSS[2] of the work, one from Kashmir and the other from Amritsar. The text is rich in citations from many works on *rasavidya* (alchemy). I propose, therefore, to record in this paper a critical analysis of it with a view to fixing some limits for its date. The work begins as follows :—

" श्रीप्रसादवरारूढो जयति त्रिपुराप्रियः ।
नित्यानन्दमयो नाथो गुरुर्नारायणः स्वयम् ॥ १ ॥
उपकरणधातुसंग्रहसूतकर्मचिकित्साचतुष्पादैः ।
जयति रसकामधेनुश्चूडामणिसंगृहीतेयम् ॥ २ ॥"

The work is divided into *Pādas* as follows :—

(1) उपकरणपाद (7 *adhikāras*); (2) धातुसंग्रहपाद (5 *adhikāras*); (3) सूतक्रियापाद (9 *adhikāras*).

These 3 *Pādas* have been published in the above edition. The 4th *Pāda* viz. the चिकित्सापाद has been published by Vaidya J. K. Shastri of Gondal (Kathiawad).

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[1] The editor has no information about the author and his date as will be seen from his remark :—

रसकामधेनुसंगृहीता अयं श्रीचूडामणिमिश्रः कस्मिन्समये कतमे
जनपदे समजनि इति निश्चयेन वक्तुं न शक्यते । "

[2] Sir P. C. Ray refers to a "big MS called रसकामधेनु compiled by Cūḍāmaṇi Miśra" which reached his hands about the close of the printing of his edition of *Rasārṇava* (Calcutta, 1910 — *Bib. Indica*, see p. 14 of the Table of Contents).

The colophon of the present edition records the parentage of our author in the following verse :—

Page 548— " शाकद्वीपजविप्रमुख्यसुभिषक्संख्यावदाख्यातिमत्
मिश्रश्रीबलभद्रसूनुहरिरामस्यात्मसंभूतिना ।
श्रीचूडामणिना कृते सुकृतिना सूतक्रियासंश्रितो
ग्रंथेऽस्मिन्रसकामधेनुकथिते पादस्तृतीयो मया ॥ ३२९ ॥"

A similar verse is recorded by our author at the end of the *1st Pāda* on page 128. The genealogy of our author may be represened as follows :—

बलभद्रमिश्र (a Brahmin physician of शाकद्वीप)[1]
|
son
हरिराम
|
son
चूडामणि (the author of रसकामधेनु)

Aufrecht records no entries about the रसकामधेनु or its author चूडामणि in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*. He mentions (CC I, p. 367) one " बलभद्र, son of दामोदर, brother of हरिराम, wrote in 1656 हायनरत्न jy. " This बलभद्र cannot be identical with बलभद्र, the grand-father of चूडामणि, as हरिराम was his son and not his brother. Aufrecht (CC I, p. 367) mentions another बलभद्र as the author of नवरत्नधातुविवाद a work on medicine (B. 4. 226). This Ms is dated *Saṁvat 1574* (= A. D. 1518). It remains to be proved if this बलभद्र is identical with बलभद्रमिश्र the grand-father of चूडामणि, the author of the रसकामधेनु.

The works and authors mentioned and quoted by the author of the *Rasakāmadhenu* are as follows :—

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1 Nanda Lal Dey in his *Geographical Dictionary* (1927), p. 172 identifies शाकद्वीप with " *Tartary* including *Turkestan* in Central Asia, the country of the *Śakas*". The Śakas invaded India and established themselves at Mathura, Ujjayini, and Girinagara as *Kṣatrapas*. Evidently बलभद्रमिश्र cannot belong to Tartary. He possibly belonged to the U. P. or Panjab. At any rate he belonged to Northern India.

(1) रसार्णवे, pp. 1, 2, 3, 13, 14, 16, 18, 22, 24, 28, 31, 33, 43, 52, 53, 68.

(2) रसेन्द्रचूडामणौ, pp. 2, 7, 14, 16, (सोमदेवकृतरसेन्द्रचूडामणौ-35), 44, 50.

(3) रससारे, pp. 3, 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 15, 16, 22, 23, 29, 47, 51, 52, 69, 71 80.

(4) रसपद्धतौ, pp. 3, 128, रसपद्धतिटीकायाम् (p. 11), रसपद्धतिटीकाकारः (p. 17), 24, 135.

(5) रसरत्नसमुच्चये, p. 3.

(6) रसरत्नाकरे, pp. 7, 8, 9, 12, 15, 30, 75, 80, 83, 211.

(7) रसेन्द्रचिन्तामणौ, pp. 8, 17, 24, 26, 27, (रसेन्द्रचिन्तामणौ श्रीरामचन्द्रमत्वाह-p. 45).

(8) देवेन्द्रगिरिः, pp. 9, 10 19, 63, 76, 86 (रससारसंग्रह देवेन्द्रगिरिः), 49, 111, 131 (देवेन्द्रगिरिसंग्रह), 153, 175 (रससारसंग्रहे देवेन्द्रगिरिः).

(9) रसदर्पणे, pp. 9, 138, 275.

(10) देवीयामले, pp. 10, 21, 73, 86, 212, 250, 310.

(11) रसहृदये, pp. 10, 53, 72, 78, 87, 89, 93, 141, 199, 201.

(12) रसवाग्भटे, p. 16.

(13) यामले, p. 18.

(14) ममैव अभिधानकामधेनौ, pp. 43, 59, 60, 129, 135, 144, 217, 218, 263 (मत्कामधेनौ).

(15) सुश्रुत, pp. 43, 46, 311.

(16) रसमञ्जर्याम्, pp. 44, 47, 127, 130, 138, 146, 160, 173, 178, 189, 199.

(17) रससंकेतकलिकायाम, pp. 48, 50, 51, 135, 140, 145, 157, 158, 159, 172, 194.

(18) रसमार्तण्डे, pp. 52, 60, 66, 72, 111, 220.

(19) मन्त्रावाचिन्तामणौ, pp. 57, 148, 190, 191, 195, 198, 221, 241.

(20) निघण्टराजे, p. 58.

(21) रसराजलक्ष्म्याम्, pp. 58, 62, 63, 130, 236, 363, 457.

(22) अजीर्णमञ्जर्याम्, p. 59.

(23) अनन्तदेवविरचितरसचिन्तामणौ, pp. 66, 99.

(24) रसरत्नप्रदीपिकायाम्, pp. 75, 177, 417, (रसरत्नप्रदीपे), 216, 279, 320.

(25) रसामृते, pp. 129, 130, 136, 214.
(26) रसचिन्तामणौ, pp. 136, 228, 229, 458 468.
(27) लोहपद्धतौ, pp 136, 192, 193 (लोहशास्त्रे) 196, 198, 20 , 241
(28) धन्वन्तरीये, pp. 138, 246.
(29) आयुर्वेदप्रकाशे, pp. 145, 303.
(30) वैद्यकल्पतरौ, pp. 146, 173, 177, 252 (वैद्यकल्पद्रुमे), 212.
(31) सोमनाथसंग्रहे, p. 161.
(32) चरकानुसारि रसेन्द्रचिन्तामणौ, p. 269.
(33) पुरन्दररहस्ये, p. 272.
(34) गोरक्षमते, p. 273.
(35) रसराजहंसे, pp. 278, 369. 375.
(36) मल्लुरुश्रीदेवनाथमिश्राः, pp. 279, 327.
(37) रुद्रयामल, pp. 349, 375.
(38) रसवाग्भटे, p. 368.
(39) रसालङ्कार, p. 412.
(40) रसायनसारसङ्ग्रहे, p. 455.
(41) हेमचन्द्रादयः कुक्कुटान । वर्जयन्ति । रसहृदय— "
(42) त्रिलोचनः, p. 26.
(43) रसरत्न, p. 139.
(44) डोवालभक्ष्य, pp. 17, 272.
(45) रसरहस्यात, p. 411.

In the above list of references No. 17 (रससंकेतकलिका) is very important as it gives us one terminus to the date of the *Rasakāmadhenu*. The only work on *rasa* bearing the name *Rasasaṅketakālikā* is that by Kāyastha Cāmuṇḍa, who composed his *Varṇanighaṇṭa* in *A. D. 1482* (Saṁvat 1538).[1] In view of this reference we may safely conclude that the *Rasakāmadhenu was composed after A. D. 1482.*

The *Rasakāmadhenu* (= RK) mentions and quotes from a work called " *Rasāmṛta* " (Ref. No. 25 in the above list). If this work is identical with "*Rasāmṛta* by Pandit Vaidyakendra in *A. C. 1495*"

[1] Vide my two papers on Kāyastha Cāmuṇḍa and his works in *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. V, (1940), pages 1-8 and 8-10.

mentioned by the Thakore Saheb of Gondal in his Bibliography[1] of medical works the date of the *Rasakāmadhenu* can be easily shifted forward upto A. D. 1500. The RK mentions a work called "*Āyurvedaprakāśa*" (Ref. No. 29). If this work is identical with the *Āyurvedaprakāśa*[2] composed by Śrī Mādhava of Benares in *A. C. 1734* according to Thakore Saheb we can shift forward the date of the *RK* upto A. D. 1734. As Thakore Saheb has not documented his entries in the Bibliography I am unable to rely upon them in my present inquiry. On the strength of the quotations from the *Rasasaṅketakalikā* we may however, definitely say that the *RK* is *later than about A. D. 1500.*

During my study of the *RK* I have found the following *Mantras* in Hindi recorded in it in different contexts :—

Page 48 -- *Mantra* from *Rasendracuḍāmaṇi* :—

" अथ रसेन्द्रचूडामणौ त्वन्यो मन्त्रः ।
ॐ नाभिमहेश तुं आदित्यकुण्डली वासुकी नाग
तथा चरविषजङ्गमविष उभयोगिनि हितकर पुत्रकरी
परमविद्या मौनि नाभि अमुके शरीरप्रवेश नाहि विष । "

Page 49 — " अथ विषभक्षणमन्त्रः—

अरे विस ब्रह्मदास पिङ्गलापुत्र दीढामि दीढो बन्धोऽसि गाण्डिल उसससटिपल खाण्डपल्लामऽङ्गाउम्भागसुडंम्बाडं जरेमासी तेतिसकोटिदेवकी चाटी (?) । "

— " तत्र मन्त्रः—
ॐ ह्रीं गुड उदकण्ठमुड दहीकण्ठ आवे एव
जीवसो उवाराख्यापि (?) हरो श्रीनीलकण्ठदेवकी आज्ञा "

Page 409 — " कवित्त — ' उभयकी केशव दहिं विष हरियाला
विषही खाऊं तपसीके रूप हि जग फिरौं सो
निर्विष होइ घर जाऊं ' अनेन मन्त्रेण etc.

All the *four* Hindi *Mantras* quoted above are recorded in connection with *Poisons*. Even at present there are persons in

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1 Vide p. 212 of *History of Aryan Medical Science*, London, 1896.

2 Ibid, p. 208 — See also my paper on *Āyurvedaprakāśa* of Mādhava Upādhyāya (middle of 17th century) in *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. II, pages 139–143.

villages who are supposed to remove or counteract the effects of the poison of serpents, scorpions etc. by the power of *Mantras.* [1]

I have supplied extracts of the above Hindi Mantras to my linguist friend Dr. Siddheswar Varma, now at Rohtak, to enable him to determine the chronology of these Mantras on linguistic grounds, if possible. Though these Mantras are found in the *Rasakāmadhenu* composed later than A. D. 1500 they may have been current in the country somewhat earlier.

[1] The association of *Mantras* with alchemy or *Rasavidyā* is best illustrated by the *Mantrakhaṇḍa* (chapter V of the *Rasaratnākara* of Nityanātha Siddha-13th century) edited by Rājavaidya J. K. Shastri, Gondal, Kathiawar, 1926. This chapter describes in detail the application of specific Mantras for the purposes of *Rasavidyā*, such as—सर्ववशीकरण, राजवश्यं, विवादे वादादिजयः, स्त्रीवश्यं, स्त्रीद्रावण, आकर्षणं, स्तंभनं, दिव्यस्तंभनं, विषस्तंभनं, अग्निस्तंभनं, जलस्तंभनं, सैन्यस्तंभनं, शस्त्रदूषणं, जलदूषणं, अशानिस्तंभनं, शत्रोः शस्त्रखंडनं, मोहनं (उन्मादीकरणं), दुष्टशत्रूणां मारणं, विद्वेषणं, व्याधिजननं, कुम्भकारस्य भांडनाशनं, तैलकस्य तैलनाशनं, क्षेत्रस्य धान्यनाशनं, क्षेत्रस्य उपद्रवनाशनं, पंढीकरणं, भगबंधनं, मूषक-मत्कुणादि गृहक्लेश-निवारणं, इन्द्रजालविद्यासाधनं, केशशातनं, पादुकागति, यक्षिणीसाधनं, निधिदर्शकानि अंजनानि, अज्ञाननिधिग्रहण, अदृश्यकरण, पादुकासाधन, मृतसंजीवन, कालज्ञान, मृत्युलक्षण-ज्ञान, कौतुककलापाः etc. The names of the *Mantras* mentioned in this work are as follows :—

(1) ब्रह्मास्त्रमन्त्र, (2) अग्न्यस्त्रमन्त्र, (3) शक्तिमन्त्र, (4) खड्गमन्त्र, (5) वरुणास्त्रमन्त्र, (6) त्रिशूलास्त्रमन्त्र, (7) नंदघोषाख्यरथमन्त्र, (8) शाखा-बन्धनमन्त्र etc. All these Mantras are in Sanskrit with the exception of a few, which are possibly in *Hindi* for example the following :—

Page 20 — " ओं उच्छिष्टचाण्डालि... ... ... सत्यवादिनी की शक्ति फुरै "

Pages 36–37 — " ॐ अरे गुघतां ... ... अमुक करो ... ... आकर्षय "

Page 42 — " ॐ ... ... वा सते हनुमतबंधुगु के वाक्य गुरुकी सिद्धि ... हनुमंतकी शक्ति फुरै । "

Page 44 — " ॐ नमो ... ... महादेवकी आज्ञा ॥ "

— " ॐ नमो ... ... तिकोधरे धरियो मंगल हथु बापु नयो

— " जनर्कायासौं कीयां ... ... पाये काल्हु ॥ " (Gujarati ?)

Pages 81–82 (शाखाबंधनमन्त्र) — " ॐ वज्रमुष्टि ... ... भैरवकी आज्ञा "

(This is the longest *Mantra* in the text).

The text is based on a MS of *A. D. 1600* (Saṁvat 1665) — See p. 144. Can we suppose that Hindi *Mantras* are later additions to the text ?

In the list of authorities given above we have recorded two references to the *guru* of Cūḍāmaṇi Miśra viz. *Devanatha Miśra* (मद्गुरुश्रीदेवनाथमिश्राः). Our author gives extracts from his guru's work as follows :—

Page 327 -- " तथा च मद्गुरुश्रीदेवनाथमिश्राः—

नूतनघटात्कपालं दुग्धयुक्तकं विभाव्य विज्ञानी ।
वैद्यो मुखेऽस्य वस्त्रं शुद्धं बद्ध्वा भृशं रज्ज्वा ॥ ३१ ॥
दृढचुल्ल्युपरि न्युब्जं पात्रं धृत्वा च गन्धचूर्णवरम् ।
ऊर्ध्वमधोमुखमेकं शरावमभिमुद्रितं कुर्यात् ॥ ३२ ॥
चुल्हीगर्भे भाण्डं कुण्डाभं संनिधाय मणयस्कम ।
दद्याद्यथार्हमग्निं शरावपृष्ठे वनोपलकैः ॥ ३३ ॥
तापाद्विद्रुतगन्धं दुग्धे पतितं विशुद्धिमायातम् ।
आदाय कायशुद्धौ रसशुद्धौ योजयेद्बुद्ध्या ॥ ३४ ॥ "

Page 327 – " तथा च प्राहुर्मद्गुरुश्रीदेवनाथमिश्राः :—

सूतं पलशतमथवा तदर्धमथवा तदर्धमथ तुल्यम ।
अथवा दशपलमथवा तदर्धमथवैकमादाय ॥ ३८ ॥ "

It is clear from these extracts that Devanātha Miśra composed a metrical treatise on *rasavidya*, from which his pupil Cūḍāmaṇi Miśra has taken the above extracts. Students interested in the history of Indian alchemy should try to identify Devanatha Miśra and his work on alchemy from which the above extracts have been taken by his pupil.

While engaged in preparing this paper my friend Rao Saheb G. V. Panse, B.E., of Poona showed me his paper on " *Vāsudeva's Commentary on Subandhu's Vāsavadattā* " which he submitted to the Darbhanga Session of the All India Oriental Conference (1948). At the conclusion of this paper Rao Saheb Panse remarks :—

" The date and place of the commentator cannot be determined and, therefore, the age of the commentary cannot be chronologically fixed. The information given by the commentator at the beginning of the commentary and at the end of each *Ucchvāsa*, shows that Vāsudeva was an inhabitant of *Śakadvīpa*. His father was *Devanātha*, mother *Durgā*, grand-father *Nārāyaṇa* and great

grand-father was *Mādhava*. He was a Brahmin. The whole family was a learned one. Vāsudeva calls his commentary *Bhuvana-candrikā* or *Bhuvanārthacandrikā*."

I am inclined to believe that *Devanātha*, the father of Vāsudeva is identical with *Devanātha Miśra*, the *guru* of Cūḍāmaṇi Miśra, the author of the *Rasakāmadhenu*. A comparative study of the historical data found in the *Rasakāmadhenu* and that available in the commentary of Vāsudeva on the *Vāsavadattā* has been made by me in a special paper published in the *Journal of Oriental Studies*, Vol. I, No. 2 (January 1950) pp. 1-7.

THE 'PUṢPITĀ VĀK' IN THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ*

By

R. D. KARMARKAR

Verses 42-44 in the second Adhyāya of the Bhagavadgītā describe the 'Puṣpitā vāk' as making it impossible for the **व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धि** to be fixed in **समाधि**, and condemn those unthinking people who become enamoured of this Puṣpitā vāk which leads them astray by holding up before them **भोग, ऐश्वर्य** etc. as the proper goal. It is proposed here to discuss the verses in question and also verse 41 and verse 46 in the second Adhyaya in order to find out what exactly the Puṣpitā vāk is.

The general sense of the verses (II. 42-44)

यामिमां पुष्पितां वाचं प्रवदन्त्यविपश्चितः ।
वेदवादरताः पार्थ नान्यदस्तीति वादिनः ॥ ४२ ॥
कामात्मानः स्वर्गपरा जन्मकर्मफलप्रदाम् ।
क्रियाविशेषबहुलां भोगैश्वर्यगतिं प्रति ॥ ४३ ॥
भोगैश्वर्यप्रसक्तानां तयापहृतचेतसाम् ।
व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धिः समाधौ न विधीयते ॥ ४४ ॥

is sufficiently clear, in spite of the awkward involved construction. The Lord began the discourse about **योगे बुद्धिः** in verse 39, and here he condemns the baits offered by the followers of Karmakāṇḍa as they stand in the way of achieving Samādhi. The expression **यामिमां पुष्पितां वाचं प्रवदन्ति** (especially the word **इमां**, this would be discussed at length later) suggests that some definite verse or verses would be actually cited by the Lord, but the three verses given above only give a description of the Puṣpitā vāk without pointing out any particular text.

The Gujrati Printing Press edition of the Gītā gives as many as nineteen commentaries, but they hardly afford any help in this matter. Thus :— the expression **यामिमां** (this) **पुष्पितां वाचं** is explained as follows :—

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* **This paper was read at the All India Oriental Conference held at Darbhanga in 1948. It is printed here with the permission of the General Secretary.**

(1) यामिमां वक्ष्यमाणां पुष्पितवृक्ष इव शोभमानां	1 शाङ्करभाष्य
(2) 'इमां' इत्यध्ययनविध्युपात्तत्वेन प्रसिद्धत्वं कर्मकाण्डरूपाया वाचो विवक्ष्यते । वक्ष्यमाणत्वं क्रियाविशेषबहुलामित्यादौ द्रष्टव्यम्	2 आनन्दगिरि on शाङ्करभाष्य
(3) No explanation of इमां	3 रामानुज
(4) ,, ,,	4 वेदान्तदेशिक on रामानुजभाष्य
(5) ,, ,,	5 मध्व
(6) ,, ,,	6 जयतीर्थ on मध्वभाष्य
(7) ,, ,,	7 हनूमत् (पैशाचभाष्य)
(8) यामिमामधीयमानां " स्वर्गकामो यजेत " इत्यादिरूपां वाचं	8 वेङ्कटनाथ
(9) No explanation	9 वल्लभ
(10) ,, ,,	10 पुरुषोत्तम on वल्लभभाष्य
(11) यामिमां... पुष्पितां पुष्पितद्रुमवद्दूरतो रमणीयां वाचम " अक्षय्यं ह वै चातुर्मास्ययाजिनः सकृतं भवति " (Śatapatha Brahmaṇa II. 6-3-1) " अपाम सोममसृता अभूम " (Ṛ. VIII. 48-3) इत्येवंरूपाम	11 नीलकण्ठ
(12) No explanation of इमाम् ; but the passages अक्षय्यं etc. referred to by नीलकण्ठ above are given as explaining वेदवाद	12 केशवकाश्मीरिभट्टाचार्य
(13) इमाम् अध्ययनविध्युपात्तत्वेन प्रसिद्धाम. The passages अक्षय्यं etc. are explanatory of वेदवाद	13 मधुसूदनसरस्वती
(14) " अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम् । इषे त्वोर्जे त्वा । ब्रह्म संधत्तं तन्मे जिन्वतम् " इत्यादिवाक्यरूपाम	14 शङ्करानन्द
(15) वाचं स्वर्गादिफलश्रुतिम	15 श्रीधर
(16) इमां वक्ष्यमाणां	16 सदानन्द
(17) " अपाम सोममसृता अभूम " इत्यादिवाक्यरूपाम्	17 धनपतिसूरि

(18) " अधेन्वा चरति माययैष वाचं शुश्रुवामफलामपुष्पाम " 18 दैवज्ञपण्डितसूर्य

इति श्रुतौ पुष्पफले हि देवताध्यात्मे इति निरुक्तेः

पुष्पस्थानीयदेवतोपासनविषयां वाचम

(19) No explanation 19 राघवेन्द्र

The Paiśācabhāṣya of Hanūmat quotes प्लवा ह्येते अदृढा यज्ञरूपा अष्टादशोक्तमवरं येषु कर्म (Muṇḍaka 2-7) with the comment तां वाचं त्यज, तदर्थे पुरुषार्थबुद्धिं मा कार्षीरित्यर्थः । Veṅkaṭanātha also remarks तदनेन श्लोकत्रयेण " प्लवा ह्येते अदृढा यज्ञरूपा अष्टादशोक्तमवरं येषु कर्म । एतच्छ्रेयो येऽभिनन्दन्ति मूढा जरामृत्युं ते पुनरेवापि यन्ति " (Mundaka 1-2-7), " अविद्यायामन्तरे वर्तमानाः स्वयं धीराः पण्डितंमन्यमानाः । जङ्घन्यमानाः (दन्द्रम्यमाणाः) परियन्ति मूढा अन्धेनैव नीयमाना यथान्धाः । (Kaṭha 2-5) इत्याथर्वणिकश्रुत्यर्थो दर्शितः ।

It would be seen that out of the nineteen commentators, nine completely ignore इमां in the passage, two content themselves with the remark इमां वक्ष्यमाणां, two think it unnecessary to refer to any particular passage, as what was meant was प्रसिद्ध enough ; the only passages directly mentioned as the explanation of इमां being स्वर्गकामो यजेत (Veṅkaṭanātha), अक्षय्यं ह वै etc. (Nilakaṇṭha), अपाम सोमम् etc. (Nilakantha and Dhanapati), अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम् (Śaṅkarānanda) and अधेन्वा चरति etc. (Daivajñapaṇḍita).

Modern commentators on the Gītā like Telang, Tilak, Davies, Hume and others have uniformly ignored the expression इमां and do not trouble themselves with pointing out the passage referred to by it. The suggestion of the Paiśācabhāṣya is endorsed by Prof. Modi viz. that the Muṇḍakopaniṣad may be referred to here. Prof. Modi [1] remarks "In this passage of the Mu. Upa. we have the flowery speech of the Vedic Ritualist in Mu. Upa. I-1-2-6 [2]

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[1] P. 27 Notes: The Bhagavadgita with Śaṅkara's commentary by Prof. P. M. Modi.

[2] तदेतत्सत्यं मन्त्रेषु कर्माणि कवयो यान्यपश्यंस्तानि त्रेतायां बहुधा संततानि ।
तान्याचरथ नियतं सत्यकामा एष वः पन्थाः सुकृतस्य लोके ॥ १ ॥
यदा लेलायते ह्यर्चिः समिद्धे हव्यवाहने ।
तदाज्यभागावन्तरेणाहुतीः प्रतिपादयेच्छ्रद्धया हुतम् ॥ २ ॥
यस्याग्निहोत्रमदर्शमपौर्णमासमचातुर्मास्यमनाग्रयणमतिथिवर्जितं च ।
अहुतमवैश्वदेवमविधिना हुतमासप्तमांस्तस्य लोकान् हिनस्ति ॥ ३ ॥
काली कराली च मनोजवा च सुलोहिता या च सुधूम्रवर्णा ।
स्फुलिङ्गिनी विश्वरुची च देवी लेलायमाना इति सप्तजिह्वाः ॥ ४ ॥

(continued on the next page)

and a criticism of the Vedāntin on it in Mu. Upa. I-1-7-9 [1] ...... The word मूढा: in Mu. Up. I-2-7 will correspond to the word अविपश्चित: in Bhagavadgītā II-42". The writer of the Bhagavadgītā may possibly have the Muṇḍaka passage in mind, but it may be argued that it seems certainly unusual that a passage should be named as a पुष्पिता वाक् from a particular work which inmediately after condemns the same in no uncertain terms.

The most important argument we want to advance against accepting any of the above passages as being referred to in the Gītā is the use of the expression याम् इमाम्. If we look to the use of similar expressions in the Gītā we will find that what is referred to by such expressions is mentioned in the Gītā itself, either before or after. Thus :—

एषा तेऽभिहिता सांख्ये बुद्धिर्योगे त्विमां शृणु । II. 39 ab

The योगबुद्धि is described directly after in the succeeding verses.

अध्येष्यते च य इमं धर्म्यं संवादमावयोः । XVIII. 70. ab. The धर्म्यं संवाद has just been concluded.

... इदं वक्ष्याम्यशेषतः । VII. 2. 6.

The सविज्ञानं ज्ञानं is directly after mentioned.

Similarly in दृष्ट्वेमं स्वजनं कृष्ण I. 28. c, दैवी ह्येषा गुणमयी मम माया VII. 14. a, द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके XV. 16. a, भूतग्राममिमं कृत्स्नं IX. 8. c, य इमं परमं गुह्यम् XVIII. 68. a, विषीदन्तमिदं वचः II. 10. d, विषीदन्तमिदं II. 2. c, the expressions इदं or इमं refer to what is there in the Gītā itself. And this is reasonable, because the meaning of the expression इमं etc. 'This' requires that the thing referred to by it must be directly presented to the reader.

(continued from the previous page)

एतेषु यश्चरते भ्राजमानेषु यथाकालं चाहुतयो ह्याददायन् ।
तन्नयन्त्येताः सूर्यस्य रश्मयो यत्र देवानां पतिरेकोऽधिवासः ॥ ५ ॥
एह्येहीति तमाहुतयः सुवर्चसः सूर्यस्य रश्मिभिर्यजमानं वहन्ति ।
प्रियां वाचमभिवदन्त्योऽर्चयन्त्य एष वः पुण्यः सुकृतो ब्रह्मलोकः ॥ ६ ॥

प्लवा ह्येते etc. ॥ ७ ॥ } These are already quoted above.
अविद्यायामन्तरे etc. ॥ ८ ॥ }

अविद्यायां बहुधा वर्तमाना वयं कृतार्था इत्यभिमन्यन्ति बालाः ।
यत्कर्मिणो न प्रवेदयन्ति रागात्तेनातुराः क्षीणलोकाश्च्यवन्ते ॥ ९ ॥

The Puṣpitā vāk, therefore, must be searched after in the Gītā itself, near about the passage mentioning it. We think that verse 46

यावानर्थ उदपाने सर्वतः संप्लुतोदके ।
तावान्सर्वेषु वेदेषु ब्राह्मणस्य विजानतः ॥ II-46

is the Puṣpitā vāk. This verse has been a puzzle to commentators. There is no wonder that this has been so; not having understood that the verse is really the Puṣpitā vāk, the commentators make frantic attempts to screw out from it exactly the opposite meaning. The following remarks by Dr. Barnett[1] would make this point clear: —

" The sense of this obscure and much-disputed passage seems to me to be that a large pool has many uses, the thirsty traveller using it to assuage his thirst, the farmer to water his fields, the religious man to perform his bath of purification; and in the same way the Vedas are used by various sorts of men to attain their several objects, the worldly man employing them for rituals to secure his own worldly benefit, and the enlightened sage using them in the same rites, but solely for the worldly benefit of others. The sage thereby practises Yoga and secures for himself spiritual grace ". Śaṅkarācārya explains the passage thus: — यथा लोके कूपतडागाद्यनेकस्मिन् उदपाने परिच्छिन्नोदके यावान् यावत्परिमाणः स्नानपानादिरर्थः फलं प्रयोजनं स सर्वोऽर्थः सर्वतः संप्लुतोदके तावानेव संपद्यते तत्रान्तर्भवतीत्यर्थः । एवं तावान् तावत्परिमाण एव संपद्यते सर्वेषु वेदेषु वेदोक्तेषु कर्मसु योऽर्थो यत् कर्मफलं सोऽर्थो ब्राह्मणस्य संन्यासिनः परमार्थतत्त्वं विजानतो योऽर्थः यत् विज्ञानफलं सर्वतः संप्लुतोदकस्थानीयं तस्मिन् तावानेव संपद्यते तत्रैवान्तर्भवतीत्यर्थः । Rāmānuja says, यथा सर्वार्थपरिकल्पिते सर्वतः संप्लुतोदके उदपाने पिपासोर्यावानर्थः यावदेव प्रयोजनं पानीयं तावदेव तेनोपादीयते न सर्वम् ...... वैदिकस्य मुमुक्षोर्यदेव मोक्षसाधनं तदेवोपादेयम् नान्यत् । It is unnecessary to quote the remarks of other commentators. The unnatural way in which the verse is construed is apparent enough-,

यावानुदपाने अर्थः तावान् सर्वतः संप्लुतोदके अर्थः ।

Here, we have to take तावान् as understood in the first line, Some take संप्लुतोदके as सति सप्तमी, and explain the line as ' where there is flooded water everywhere, no अर्थ is to be had from an उदपान. '

1 Pp. 181-82 Notes, Bhagavadgītā by L. D. Barnett.

The proper and natural way to construe the verse is to take the whole of the first line (with यावान्) as being correlated with the second line (with तावान्), सर्वतः संप्लुतोदके उदपाने यावान् अर्थः, विजानतः ब्राह्मणस्य सर्वेषु वेदेषु तावान् अर्थः. This does away with the necessity of taking another तावान् as understood; संप्लुतोदके (which being a Bahuvrīhi, is a विशेषण) need not be taken as a विशेष्य; and the परिसंख्या idea involving the देशs, स्नानपरित्याग etc. implied in the interpretation of Śaṅkarācārya and others is also done away with. The meaning of the verse, according to our view, would be as follows :—

'Just as a tank full of water flowing over on all sides, with a perennial spring, is capable of satisfying all the wants of the needy person, the Vedas are capable of giving whatever a Brāhmaṇa knowing the sacrificial details in the Karmakāṇḍa, wants. The Vedas are an inexhaustible store and one can always get out of them all one wants and even more.' This would be just the kind of Puṣpītā vāk eulogising the Karmakāṇḍa which would turn away the minds of मुमुक्षुs from the Samādhi goal which the Lord wants to place before them in his discourse on योगबुद्धि. Śaṅkarācārya's view that the verse tells us about the कर्मफल being अन्तर्भूत in the ज्ञानफल is premature in the present context. The Lord is here just warning people against the Karmakāṇḍa, because it would stand in the way of the समाधि goal; he is not surely condemning it. [1]

It would be seen that the verse यावानर्थ does not immediately follow the passage (II. 42-44). The verse त्रैगुण्यविषया वेदाः etc. comes in between. This however could not be made an argument against regarding यावानर्थ etc. as the Puṣpitā vāk. The Lord being anxious to emphasise the importance of योगे बुद्धि might be regarded as having made it clear to Arjuna that he should not have anything to do with the Vedas which are त्रैगुण्यविषय, before he mentions the

[1] The verse यावानर्थ is found in the सनत्सुजातीय (उद्योगपर्वन्) with some change,

य एवार्थ उदपाने महति संप्लुतोदके ।

एवं सर्वेषु वेदेषु (v.l. —ष्वात्मानमनुजानतः) ब्राह्मणस्य विजानतः ॥

The verse does not seem to serve any definite purpose there. In all probability, it has been borrowed from the Bhagavadgītā. It is significant that the Bhandarkar Institute Critical edition of the Mbh. reads आत्मानमनुजानतः.

mischievous Puṣpitā vāk. Or, verses 46 and 45 may even be made to interchange their places.

We shall now discuss Verse 41 which just precedes the यामिमां पुष्पितां वाचं passage,

व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धिरेकेह कुरुनन्दन ।
बहुशाखा ह्यनन्ताश्च बुद्धयोऽव्यवसायिनाम् ॥ II-41

This verse also has been completely misunderstood by the commentators. First, the expression बुद्धयोऽव्यवसायिनाम् has been split up as बुद्धयः अव्यवसायिनाम्, and secondly there is confusion about the meaning of व्यवसाय and इह. We are of opinion that बुद्धयोऽव्यवसायिनाम् should be split up as बुद्धयः व्यवसायिनाम्, इह means the शास्त्र dealing with योगे बुद्धिः (the discourse on which commenced with II-38), and व्यवसाय should be taken in the sense of 'work'. In the first line, the योगिन् following the योगे बुद्धि is referred to, and in the second line, the व्यवसायिन्s or कर्ममार्गिन्s are dealt with. The contrast is thus between the योगिन् and the कर्ममार्गिन्. The योगिन् has a single व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धिः* (i. e. बुद्धिप्रेरितः व्यवसायः), he has only one aim viz. the acquisition of समाधि and all his व्यवसाय is directed towards that. The व्यवसायिन्s or कर्ममार्गिन्s on the other hand indulge in different व्यवसायs directed towards different ends according to their individual tastes and aspirations. The व्यवसायिन्s have ample freedom of choice but their aim is low, hence their example is not to be followed.

The line बहुशाखा ह्यनन्ताश्च बुद्धयो व्यवसायिनाम् cannot be the पुष्पिता वाक् referred to in the next verse, as the fruit referred to therein is too indefinite and unattractive to be styled 'an enticing speech'.

The interpretation of the two verses II 46 and II-41, that यावानर्थ उदपाने is the पुष्पिता वाक् referred to in II-42, and that II-41 refers to the contrast between the योगिन्s and the कर्ममार्गिन्s seems to be the right one and in harmony with the context.

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1 Cf. the expression मन्त्रीचकार मरणव्यवसायबुद्धिम् । Kumāra V.

THE FLORA IN KALIDASA'S LITERATURE [1]

By

M. V. Apte

Introductory

Kālidāsa is well known as the best of the Sanskrit poets. His art of depicting human nature has been highly spoken of by nearly every writer of repute who has written on this subject. His description of animal and vegetable nature has been extolled as "depicting an Indian landscape in vivid colours" by Prof. Macdonell among European writers. But strange to say, some of our Indian scholars have expressed a diffidence about the appropriateness of such descriptions; nay, they have in places even condemned them as "hereditary and conventional." (see N. C. Kelkar : "*Pleasures and Privileges of the Pen*," Pages 51-52; Prof. A. B. Gajendragadakar's Introduction to *Ṛtusaṁhāra* page xxii.)

Thoroughy scrutinised, these latter statements are found to be wrong. Not the poet but his critics are found to have suffered from a lack of knowledge of nature. They have condemned a thing as conventional which in reality is an exact description of nature, as exact as, or even more exact than, what a man of letters is expected to write. None of the poets after Kālidāsa, for instance, has written as much as, and with as much accuracy as, Kālidāsa has done on this subject. In 1947 there appeared a book by name "*India in Kālidāsa*" in which one whole chapter is devoted to Flora and Fauna. In this chapter the author enumerates all the names of plants occurring in the literature of Kālidāsa and tries to explain them (1) by giving their modern scientific equivalents in some cases, (2) by giving popular names only in a few cases, (3) giving both in other cases, and (4) by giving English translations of the poet's descriptions in still others. The author Prof. Upādhyāya accepts all the interpretations given by commentators and other writers on the subject of indentification of plants and in most cases avoids giving

[1] Paper read before the XVth Session of the All India Oriental Conference, 1949.

any opinion as to their propriety or otherwise. Many of these interpretations do not stand the test of scientific scrutiny as we shall presently show.

1 *Kadamba and Nīpa* : These are regarded by all to be one and the same. A doubt is raised as to their identity when one comes across the following :-

मुक्त्वा कदम्ब-कुटजार्जुन-सर्ज-नीपान्
सप्तच्छदान् उपगता कुसुमोद्गमश्रीः ॥ ऋतु० ३.१३

Here either Kadamba and Nīpa must be taken to be two different entities or we must assume that the poet's vocabulary is too short to provide him with proper material to fulfil the requirements of metre and he falls into the error of meaningless repetition. Many have hinted that *Nīpa is a different variety of Kadamba*, but none has pointed out what this variety is. Now looking to Nature herself one finds that there are not only two but actually three trees closely resembling one another, and to which the descriptions occurring in poetry apply equally well. These are (1) Anthocephalus cadamba Miq. , (2) Stephegyne parviflora Korth, and (3) Adina cordifolia Hook. The first grows profusely in the Konkaṇ, and is there called *Nīva.* Its fruit is soft and edible. The second is common throughout India except in Konkan. Its fruit is hard and inedible. The third grows sparsely in the same regions as those of the second. Its fruit also is inedible. The leaves of the third are heart-shaped in contrast to the ovate-lanceolate leaves of the other two. The flowers of all these is very similar. The second of these trees is everywhere called Kadamba. The third is known by the name Hedu (Marathi) or Hedakadamba (Marathi) or Haridrakadamba or Haridraka. In Kālidāsa's literature there occurs the name Rakta-kadamba. This name is evidently given in order to distinguish it from Haridra-Kadamba. The wood of this *Haridra Kadamba* is yellow and is still found employed in old buildings. *Very probably this is the Nīpa of Kālidasa.* The Nīva is rare in Vindhya mountains to which Kālidāsa's references of Nīpa are made.

2 Arjuna and Kakubha is another pair of words which is supposed to denote one and the same tree. In this case also looking to nature one finds that there are two trees Terminalia arjuna W. & A., and Terminalia tomentosa Bedd., Aīna (Marathi), very similar

to each other, growing side by side in North Indian forests. Terminalia arjuna is the rarer of the two in South India, while Terminalia tomentosa is the rarer in the North. Many times the names Arjuna and Aīna are applied promiscuously by people living in forests. The colour of the *bark is red* in the Terminalia tomentosa while it is white in the *Terminalia arjuna*. This is the chief difference between the two. There is a slight difference in the form of leaves and so on, but these differences do not find a place in poetry. Both are forest-trees and both bear fragrant flowers, appearing in panicles like those of the mango-tree.

3 *Aśoka and Kankeli*. This is the third pair which is regarded as denoting one and the same species of plants. There is a species of plants called *Caesalpinia pulcherrima Swartz.*, belonging to the same order and sub-order as Aśoka. To this the name Śaṅkhāsura or Saṅkāsura is given in Marathi. This is a beautiful garden-tree and therefore ill-deserves the name of a demon. Probably, the name is a corrupt form of Kankeli. This is admittedly a far-fetched inference, and may not be acceptable to many. It is, however, remarkarble that the word Kankeli occurs only once in the whole of Kālidāsa's literature while references *to Aśoka are numerous*. Kankeli is certainly different from Aśoka in view of the fact that the poet mentions Kankeli as flowering in *Śarada* while he mentions *Aśoka* as flowering in the *Spring* (*Ṛtu* 3. 18; 6. 5, 16.)

4 *Tilaka*. This is a name which figures prominently in the descriptions of gardens in the Raghuvaṁśa, Kumāra-sambhava and Mālavikāgnimitra. Prof. Upādhyāya calls it a tree but does not say what tree it is. Tilaka is included in the list of ten plants about which Mallinātha gives poetical conventions in the well-known and oft repeated verse स्त्रीणां स्पर्शात् प्रियङ्गुर्विकसति ... ... It is significant that Kālidāsa mentions the Tilaka in three places without referring to the poetical convention embodied in this verse. He simply describes its beauty as being akin to that of the saffron-mark on the forehead of a woman. The name Tilaka suggests a relation to *Tila*, the Sesame-plant, Sesamum indicum Linn. Now this plant has got flowers that have got a very pretty appearance. This plant is a shrub and not a tree. It grows four to five feet in height. Its flower bends sideways so as to face the observer. It has five petals united together. One of these petals, the lower one, is longer than the rest. All

petals have a faintly rosy colour excepting the lower one which has got markings of a thicker hue. The sesame is a cultivated plant. Its wild representative is found in forests. This wild sesame has got flowers similar to those of the cultivated kind, but its coloration especially that at the ends of the petals, is very bright so that the spot on the longer petal, which incidentally is called the lip of the flower even by botanists, is very prominent. This spot on the lip is highly suggestive of the saffron-mark on the forehead of a woman, and therefore the wild Sesame must have been the Tilaka of Kālidāsa. Although in the "Flora of British-India" it is mentioned that the wild form of Sesame is not found in India, my friend Mr. S. R. Godbole has found it in the forest near Panvel (in Koṅkaṇ) and I have myself found it near-about Poona and Nagpur. Samples of both have been preserved by us.

5 *Kurabaka.* This plant has been mentioned along with Tilaka in the proverbial verse of Mallinātha embodying poetcial conventions about plants. The convention about this plant also has not been referred to by Kālidāsa, although the plant has been given a prominent place in his descriptions of gardens in ऋतुसंहार, मेघदूत, मालविकाग्निमित्र and रघुवंश. The Kurabaka flower is described as कान्तामुखद्युति in *Ṛtu.* 6. 18. Modern scientists describe it as a *lipped flower* referring to the form of its petals, out of which the upper ones are held back and the lower one is put forth as if it were the lip, which is regarded as a sign of beauty. Calling a flower a lipped flower does imply a similarity with the mouth, and this is exactly what the poet has done long before botanists set out on their task of classifying flowers. Prof. Gajendragadakar in his notes on *Ṛtu.* 6. 18 remarks: "One wonders what similarity there is except in the fancy of the poet between the face of a lady and the bunch of blossoms of the Kurabaka tree." The Professor then goes on to say that the poet is led away by the convention

तिलककुरबकौ वीक्षणालिङ्गनाभ्याम् ।

The Professor here is grossly mistaken. The Kurabaka in the first place is not a tree. It is a handsome shrub. Further more the face of a lady is not likened to the whole bunch but the individual flower, which according to the rigid tests of botanists *has got a lipped appearance.* Kurabaka is *Barlaria prionitis* Linn, or *Barlaria cristata* Prin. Apte in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary made the mistake of

calling *Kurabaka* a tree and a species of *amaranth*. This mistake has been copied by many wholly or partly. For instance Prof. Upādhyāya calls it Barlaria cristata which is correct, but he instantly adds "*a species of amaranth*" which is wrong. The genus "Barlaria" belongs to the family Acanthaceae and not Amarantaceae. There is no tree among the *amaranths* at all.

6 *Aśoka and Bakula*. These are trees known by the same names to-day and there is no mis-understanding about their identity. But the thing worthy of note is that of all the plants about which poetcial conventions were current these are the only two plants, the conventions about which have been respected by Kālidāsa. Why this selection ? The reason is this. There is a good sense in saying that the flowering of Aśoka is due to the touch of a woman's foot which is painted red. The painted foot bears a striking resemblance in colour to the flower of Aśoka. So also with Bakula. The fragrance of its flowers vies with the fragrance of the odour of the mouth of a lady who has drunk *Bakula-wine*.

That the poet does hint at these relations is apparent from the following stanzas:—

स्मरतेव सशब्दनूपुरं चरणानुग्रहमन्यदुर्लभम् ॥
अमुना कुसुमाश्रुवर्षिणा त्वमशोकेन सुगात्रि शोच्यसे ॥ ६३ ॥
तव निःश्वसितानुकारिभिः बकुलैरर्धचितां समं मया ॥
असमाप्य विलासमेखलां किमिदं किन्नरकण्ठि सुप्यते ॥ ६४ ॥ रघु० ८.

The painting of Mālavikā's foot prior to its touching the Aśoka in order to induce it to come into flowers has been described in detail in the Mālavikāgnimitra. The poet accepts these two conventions not simply because they are conventions but because they are suggestive of a natural occurrence. More-over the conventions about Aśoka had already a firm hold on the popular mind as Prof. Upādhyāya points out.

7 *Sthalakamala and Karṇikāra*. This is a pair of plants the names of which have been confounded by Prof. Upādhyāya. For both he gives the modern scientific name Hibiscus mutabilis. *Hibiscus mutabilis* is a garden plant brought from foreign land, during recent years. Its popular name is "changing rose." This name has arisen out of the fact that its flowers change colour during the course of a day. Kālidāsa does not mention this peculiarity. On

the other hand he pointedly refers to the peculiarity that it opens only in response to day-light:

साभ्रेह्नीव स्थलकमलिनीं न प्रबुद्धां न सुप्ताम् ॥ उत्तरमेघ, ३०.

Now in the lily-family of plants there are species that have yellow or red flowers which *presumably* open by day and not by night. One of the red-flowered species is traditionally called Bhūkamal or Bhuikamal, meaning the same as Sthalakamala. There is no such tradition behind the "changing rose." In the Kanarese language there is a plant-name meaning land-lotus (I Pfleiderr's Glimpses into the Life of Indian Plants, page 165). The plant bearing this name is an *orchid* with white flowers which open even in the dark. This is, therefore, not the Sthalakamala of Kāḷidāsa. A plant which goes by the name of Kalalāvi in Marāthi grows wild in South India. Its name is derived from Sanskrit Sthalakallari. *Kallāri* means red lotus plant. Sthalakallari or Kalalāvi, therefore, is the red variety of Sthalakamalinī. This plant is at present regarded as the most beautiful of the Indian lilies and is grown in gardens for its grandeur. Its Scientific name is *Gloriosa superba*, L. Tradition, therefore, establishes that Sthalakamalinī is one of the Indian lilies, and not the Hibiscus mutabilis, which is one of the mallows that is Japā-group of plants. The lilies bear a resemblance to lotuses, and therefore, the latter are called water-lilies in common English. We call the lotus Kamalinī and the lily the Sthalakamalinī, the land-lotus. This information about the land-lotuses is given in the late Mr. Bajābā Bālāji Nene's work, "*Sarvavaidya*", which exists only in manuscript form and which was written towards the end of the last century.

Hibiscus mutabilis is neither Sthalakamalinī nor Karṇikāra. Tradition gives the name Kaniyar to Pterospermum acerifolium Willd., a tree with large yellow flowers ; and some believe that this name is derived from Karṇikāra. Another tradition makes the Indian labernum the Karṇikāra. It is called in scientific language *Cassia fistula*, L. This is a plant which grows wild and is also prized in modern gardens as a tree with beautiful golden yellow flowers. Kālidāsa describes the Karṇikāra-flower as golden yellow, but this description applies to both plants. A further description is contained in the stanza :—

परिजनवनिताकरार्पिताभिः
परिवृत एष विभाति दीपिकाभिः ।
गिरिरिव गतिमानपक्षलोपात्
अनुतटपुष्पितकर्णिकारयष्टिः ॥ विक्र० ३. ३.

The simile of a burning lamp applies more appropriately to Cassia than to the other plant. The Cassia flower has its petals bending inwards so that the flower looks like a saucer. Its stamens and style are longer than the petals and look like so many wicks jutting out of an oil-lamp. The flower of the other plant has got no such similarity.

8 *Mahauṣadhi.* This is a potent item of obscurity. It is generally believed that there are self-luminous plants in the Himālaya to which this name is given. The fact is that on the Himālaya there are trees of the Devadāra family which have got resinous stems. These stems burn like oil-lamps. Even to-day men living in these regions use sticks of these plants just as we use dry-cell electric hand-lamps. Ordinary oil-lamps would be difficult to procure and to handle and even then they would not burn well on account of the cool climate there. These sticks of pine wood, therefore, are the natural lamps of the Himālaya and, thus find a special glorification in poetry. Self-luminous *fungi* are found, but they are not handy and convenient as the Mahauṣadhi is described to be. In the hunting tour of Daśaratha, for instance, he is said to have used such lamps. They could not possibly be the fungi but could reasonably be pine-sticks procured by him for such occasions from the Himālaya-forests. (R. 9, 70)

स ललितकुसुमप्रवालशय्यां ज्वलितमहौषधिदीपिकासनाथाम् ।
नरपतिरतिवाहयांबभूव क्वचिदसमेतपुरस्कृतः त्रियामाम् ॥

The adjective *jvalita* is here significant. It means ' burning that is in flames ' and not *bhāsvat* i. e. simply ' luminous'. In another place it is described as *asnehadīpikā* (R. 4, 75.), indicating that the dispensability of oil was the speciality of this kind of lamp.

9 *Santānaka.* This is another obscure name in the flora mentioned by Kālidāsa. Santānaka is described as a shade tree, the flowers of which were regarded auspicious. Its abode is in the Himālaya. Now, *Rhododendron arborium* Sm., is a tree which grows abundantly

in the Himālaya, gives good, shade and bears beautiful flowers. This is most probably the Santānaka of Kālidāsa. The meaning of the word suggests a profuse growth both of the individual and its progeny. The word *Rhododendron means tree-rose.* Ordinary roses are shrubs but this is a tree with flowers as beautiful as those of the rose. It is well to remember that the *wildrose-flow.r has only five petals,* so also this Rhododendron. Only its petals are united, while those of the ordinary rose are free. The Rhododendron arborium does not grow anywhere else in India.

10 *Aśokalatā, Candanalatā, Sahakāralata.* These expressions are very puzzling. Prof. Upādhyāya calls them imaginary creepers. There is a better way of solving the puzzle. Looking to the context in which they occur, we observe that they are objects of comparison with brides. A bride is compared to a 'latā' and a bride-groom to a tree. Just as a bride leaves the support of her father or brother and seeks that of the bride-groom, a creeper leaves the support of one tree and takes that of another tree. That is the idea that is sought to be conveyed by the poet in the following stanza :—

हस्तेन हस्तं परिगृह्य वध्वाः स राजसूनुः सुतरां बभासे ॥
अनन्तराशोकलताप्रवालं प्राप्येव चूतः प्रतिपल्लवेन ॥ रघु० ७. २१

Here Indumatī is Aśokalatā i. e. a creeper supported by the Aśoka tree, her brother being like the Aśoka tree. Aja is like a mango tree, on which the Aśoka-latā is now about to climb. A creeper, that first ascends an Aśoka tree reaches its peripheral branches and then crawls over to a neighbouring mango tree, is here visualised. The simile is very charming and appropriate. The Pravāla i. e. the tender shoots of the creeper catch hold of the new sprouts of the mango which are necessarily on its periphery. This is the "pāṇi-grahaṇa," that is giving and taking of hands in marriage. Some take the expression Aśoka-latā to mean the Aśoka tree as tender as a creeper. But there is certainly neither charm nor propriety in saying that two trees catch each other by their leaves. A creeper does certainly catch a tree by its tender shoots. The simile is not as evident elsewhere as it is here. But fully grasping its meaning here we extend its application elsewhere.

CONCLUSION

I have here-to-fore tried to correct a few errors and misconceptions, and have tried to clear up some obscurities. I have disputed some identifications of plants. I have a dozen more examples of this kind, but they are not so important as those already dealt with. I have discussed most of these matters in the *Mahārāṣṭra Sāhitya Patrikā* Nos. 86, 87 and 88. For information of readers I append only my conclusions in a tabular form.

On the whole I may assert, that the more we try to fathom the depth of Kālidāsa's literature the more we are convinced that the poet was a close observer of Nature and has depicted Indian flora very truly.

Sanskrit Name	Botanical name		
	Genus	Species	Author
Aravinda	Nymphea	stellata	Willd.
Asana	Bridelia	retusa	Spreng.
Kumuda	Nymphea	alba	Linn.
Padma	Nelumbium	speciosum variety red	Willd.
Pārijāta	Nictanthus	arbor-tristis	Linn.
Puṇḍarīka	Nelumbium	speciosum variety white	Willd.
Puṣkara	Nelumbium	speciosum	Willd.
Bisa	Brasenia	peltata	Pursh
Mandāra	Calotropis	gigantea	R. Br.
Rājīva	Nymphea	lotus	Linn.
Hemāmbhoja	Nelumbium	speciosum variety yellow	Willd.
Sallaki	Shorea	robusta	Gaert.

THE ṚGVEDIC PHILOSOPHY OF THE BEAUTIFUL

BY

P. S. SASTRI

(i)

Fine Arts strive after the Beautiful and reveal it in their own ways. The measure of their excellence and their popularity directly depend upon the degree of their manifestation of Beauty. Poetry being the crown of the Fine Arts, poetic Beauty is the quintessence of all higher aesthetic values. "All Beauty is in perception or imagination", in the fixed and heightened intuitions of the genius which can record and interpret [1]. At the same time it is not purely subjective; for Beauty is "that which has characteristic or individual expressiveness for sense-perception or imagination, subject to the conditions of general or abstract expressiveness in the same medium" [2]. Beauty demands harmony, regularity, unity, along with the characteristic expression for sense. It is above all a creation, a new individual expression in which a new feeling comes to exist [3]. Beauty, therefore, is full of suggestion. It is objective. As Hegel would have it, Beauty is the Idea as it shows itself to sense[4]. The Idea as such is 'the concrete world-process considered as a systematic unity" [5]. The Idea finds the fullest non-sensuous expression of itself in the human intelligence. This Idea is unconsciously embodied in Nature, and consciously in Art, where it constructs for itself a more adequate representation equally actual for sense. The formal principles of symmetry and balance, therefore qualify, rather than constitute, Beauty [6]. And the best material for Fine Art is the divine in any live-form; in Nature, Mind is alive, while Nature is alive in Mind, or as Bosanquet would have it, the Finite Mind

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1 B. Bosanquet : History of Aesthetic, p. 3.
2 Ibid, p. 5.
3 B. Bosanquet : Three Lectures on Aesthetic, p. 109.
4 Hegel : Aesthetik, I. 141.
5 B. Bosanquet : History of Aesthetic, p. 336.
6 Hegel: Aesthetik, I. 184, 96.

is the copula between the Absolute and Nature[1]. There is a systematic gradation in the revelation and manifestation of Beauty. The ideal of Beauty exhibits calm and serene majesty, beatific enjoyment, and a 'deedless and infinite self-repose'[2].

According to Croce, Art is the expression of impression, and expression is identical with intuition.[3] Expression is essential; but it can only stand for feeling or Experience.[4] It can just vibrate our heart and unite it with our thought so that we can pursue successfully "the atmosphere of infinite suggestion"[5]. Therefore the Aesthetic Enjoyment is "pleasure in the nature of a feeling or presentation, as distinct from pleasure in its momentary or expected stimulation of the organism"[6].

(ii)

It has been oft-repeated that Aesthetics in India has been confined only to Literature. But even a cursory glance into works like Śukra Nīti, Viṣṇudharmottara, Mānasāra, will reveal that the Indian Genius carried investigations of Beautiful into all the Fine Arts systematically. Even in Sanskrit literature we come across references to painting and other Fine Arts, and to the Beauty of Nature. As a typical example we can take the great poet, Kālidāsa, who while describing Pārvatī observes:

"Unmīlitam tūlikayeva citram
sūryāṁśubhir bhinnam ivāravindam
babhūva tasyāś caturasraśobhi
vapur vibhaktam navayauvanena"[7].

Beauty is revealed through the painter's brush. It does not mean that it was non-existing prior to this. It was alive as the thought of the painter. The brush is only an instrument. But his thought is subjective, and Beauty is never perfect or complete in itself as long as it is associated with a human personality; for Beauty is the Concrete Universal, the fact of the Universe. It is the spirit.

1 Principle of Individuality, Lecture X.

2 Hegel: Aesthetik, I. 237, 388 Etc.,

3 Aesthetic (Translation by D. Ainsle).

4 Three Lectures on Aesthetic by Bosanquet, p. 37.

5 A. C. Bradley: Poetry for Poetry's Sake.

6 Bosanquet: History, p. 7. Cf. Abhinavagupta's classic interpetation of Bharata's Rasa Sūtra in Abhinava Bhāratī. Abhinava's is an advance over Bosanquet's. Jagannātha marks a further advance over Abhinava.

7 Kumāra-Sambhava, 1.32.

It is objective. Hence the poet compares her Beauty to the flower that blossoms when the rays of the sun touch it. Human association prevents the full manifestation of Beauty [1]. That is, unlike Hegel, Kālidāsa finds, in Nature a true type of Beauty. Human form might be most beautiful, but it does not deny the possibility of its manifestation in Nature. On the other hand, the objectivity of Beauty implies that the finite personality should be lost in it [2]. There is Beauty in the Lotus and the rays only make it conscious of its purpose. But this Beauty is one, a concrete whole, a system. It is not an aggregate of Beautiful parts; for Beauty beautifies the parts. [3]. Beauty is elusive and suggestive [4]. In other words, according to Kālidāsa, Beauty is the creative act of the aesthetic consciousness of the Absolute. This he calls 'Lalita Sṛṣṭi' in Raghuvaṁśa (6. 37), and 'Lalita Vijñāna' in Mālavikāgnimitra (2. 13). This very idea underlies his statement in Kumāra-Sambhava that Śiva is "Naiṣṭhika Sundaraḥ" (5. 62) Beauty is spiritual.

In these observations and others on the same subject, Kālidāsa is faithfully interpreting the Upaniṣadic thought. In the Upaniṣads the Absolute is spoken of as Śāntam, Śivam, Sundaram". Again we hear of the Absolute as "Sat, Cid, Ānanda". In the philosophical language Existence and Consciousness have a place, for they define the Nature of Reality. The Religious and the philosophic experiences are the higher ones where the Absolute is experienced. But when the Real is described as Ānanda, we have every reason to conclude that according to the Upaniṣadic seers, Ānanda or the Aesthetic experience is the third higher expereince [5]. That is, the Upanisadic Absolute is Truth, Goodness, and Beauty.

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[1] Cf. "Mukham apy unnamitam na cumbitam tu" (Śākuntala, 3 22). This is best annotated by Keats in his Ode on a Grecian urn: "She cannot fade, though thou hast not thy bliss. For ever wilt thou love and she be fair!"

[2] Cf. *Na* jāne bhoktāram kam iha sam upasthāsyati vidhiḥ" (Śākuntala, 2.10).

[3] Cf. "Kim iva hi madhurāṇām maṇḍanam nākṛtīnām" (Śākuntala, 1.17). See also "Ābharaṇasyābharaṇam. ... ..." (Vikramorvaśīyam, 2.3).

[4] Cf. "Prabhā taralam jyotiḥ" (Śākuntala 1.21).

[5] Jagannātha, therefore, is correct in interpreting 'Raso vai saḥ' in purely aesthetic terms.

The Upaniṣads represent the speculative, metaphysical and mystical aspects of the vedic culture in so far as this culture is enshrined specially in Ṛgveda. Just as Kālidāsa is the finest representative of the vedic culture in the classical times, so does the Ṛgveda stand for the culture of that Age in its entirety. Of the two higher experiences symbolised by "Sat" and "Cit" we have the best exposition in the philosophic and the Mystic hymns of Ṛgveda and in the wisdom of the Upanisads. Of the third higher experience symbolised by Ānanda, we have the best exposition in Taittirīya Upaniṣad and in the aesthetic activity of Ṛgvedic seers.

The seers of Ṛgveda took themselves justly to be poets of a very high order [1]. The perceptual and intuitive observation and apprehension of truth or Reality as Beauty constitutes the poetic experience. The Ṛgvedic poet beheld Beauty in his environment, in Nature that Gentle Mother of human life and existence. He experienced the Reality immanent in the Actuality as Beautiful. He realised that the human being conforms to the realisation of the eternal act of the will of the spirit. So the Individual was felt to be Beautiful. He began recognising his aesthetic experience and artistic creations to be the Copula between the Absolute and himself [2]. Hence his songs became Beautiful. These songs manifest Thought, Reality or Spirit; and consequently the Beautiful was identified with Reality, Absolute, Spirit, Thought. That this was the Ṛgvedic concept of Beauty can be proved, from a close study of the passages occurring in the hymns.

There are many passages in Ṛgveda dealing with the concept of Beauty. Whenever a definite problem is attempted or an enunciation of a technical branch of knowledge is undertaken, we generally observe a new terminology cropping up. In the same way the Ṛgvedic seers employed certain technical words when they had to refer to the degrees of Beauty. Some of the words are:

Psaras, Peśas, Apsas, Dṛś, Śrī, Vapuṣ,

Valgu, Śrīyas, Bhadra, Bhand, Cāru, Priya,

[1] See Proceedings, AIOC, NUJ, QJMS, ABORI.

[2] Cf. "Kaviḥ kavitvā divi rūpam āsajat" The poet gives a shape to the Infinite; that is, like the Individual the poem too is 'finite-infinite'

Rūpa, Kalyāṇa, Śubh, Citra, Darśata, Svādu.
Raṇva, Vāma, Ÿakṣa, Adbhuta.

Pischel has examined the words *Apsas*, *Peśas* and *Psaras* to evaluate the Ṛgvedic concept of Beauty [1]. A more systematic attempt of the same was made by Oldenberg in his essay on "Vedic words for 'Beautiful' and 'Beauty' and the Vedic sense of the Beautiful" [2].

(iii)

Oldenberg examined fourteen words of Ṛgveda having a bearing on Beauty. His contention can be briefly summed up as follows :—

" *Dṛś* and *Śrī* refer to that which is pleasing to the view. *Śriyas* rests upon the body. (2. 10. 1; 3. 38. 4; 9. 94. 4). *Bhadra* means bearing happiness, and it represents an object or person whose sight brings gladness or joy. It is 'pleasing possession.' *Bhand* is closely associated with *Bhadra*. *Cāru* stands besides *Priya*, and means delightful, lovable. *Bhadra* means that which bestows happiness, while *Cāru* is that which is pleasing or that which creates a sensation of pleasure Thus *Cāru* refers also to the beauty of apperance. *Kalyāṇa* refers to the personal beauty of human or divine beings. *Śubh* gives the idea of self-adornment, finery and display. It is an external attribute of the being. *Vapuṣ* describes the brilliant, beautiful sights. There is the conception of wonder around this word as can be seen from its association with *Citra* and *Darśata*. *Valgu* denotes the springing or undulating motion in joy, and hence it brings forth the skilful, felicitous movement. *Darśata*, *Rūpa*, and *Svādu* also refer to the physical perception. *Raṇva* denotes the beautiful, something which is filled with well-being, satisfaction or which is connected with it. It can also refer to the subject who experiences this state of mind. *Vāma* describes those things in the attainment of which one rejoices

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1 Vedische studien I. 308–318 ; II. 113–125 ; III. 195–198.

2 Originally published in Göttingen, 1918.
English translation by the author himself appeared in Rūpam, No. 32, Oct. 1927, pp. 98–121.

or would wish to rejoice. *Citra* also belongs to the realm of perception, though there is an inkling of the inner spiritual perception.[1]"

The enquiry here is considerably limited. At the same time it presupposes many things. Words like *Svādu*, *Priya* and *Bhand* have been interpreted in a way that is contrary to the spirit of Vedic Sanskrit. By no stretch of imagination can they be separated from the idea of denoting the Aesthetic consciousness or experience. *Śubh* and *Śriyas* are relegated to the decorative parlour, while in reality they speak of the stuff out of which the skein of Beauty is revealed. *Citra* and *Darśata* directly refer to the objectivity of Beauty, while *Vapuṣ* connotes the idea of the sublime along with *Yakṣa*, *Gandharva* and *Adbhuta*. Oldenberg likes to interpret in his own way for he proceeds on certain assumptions. As it has been shown previously,[2] here also one can very well find his unwillingness to accept the Vedic passages at their actual value. And like Bloomfield, he too is not afraid of contradicting himself in the same paragraph.

Having arrived at certain conclusions regarding the words, Oldenberg proceeds to examine the concept of Beauty itself in Ṛgveda. His interpretation of the terms denoting Beauty is not only false and unacceptable, but contrary to the spirit of the Saṁhitā. Consequently his conclusions regarding the concept of Beauty in Ṛgveda, based on his own false analysis, are, to quote Geldner, " a piece of Oldenbergian Phantasy. "

He finds that the " life and beauty of the human form did not as yet appeal to the poets of the Ṛgveda." There is here an " admiring joy in the beauty of nature. " Beauty is given in its grandeur and in utter simplicity. There is " beauty of force and greatness, of swift motion, of light, of the milder charms of the dawn, of the victorious strength of the rays of the sun and the fire. The poet first saw " beauty in human form and in the appearance of the Gods that resembled human beings. " He saw it again in nature and in the ' works of human skill, above all in poetry, his own production. ' There is a ' fondness for rich adornment. ' And finally, Oldenberg declares that there is no mention

1 Rūpam 32. 98–115.

2 See NUJ on the ' Origin of Songs of Ṛgveda. '

of the word which denotes physical beauty in a manner which cannot be mistaken.[1]

Then follows another line of argument which can be summarised in the following words: The conception of Beauty in Ṛgvedic times is not very great, since Beautiful is never placed in India on a par with the universal forces.[2] The prefix 'Su-' in the words like 'Supeśas' only denotes 'a very ancient expression of estimation of values, in which there is as yet no distinction between the practical, aesthetic, and moral appreciations[3].' Just as his comrade-at-arms, Winternitz, fondly held that the Ṛgvedic seer could not distinguish between an epic, a lyric and a ballad[4], so did Oldenberg imagine that the Ṛgvedic concept of Beauty is deeply intertwined with the practical and moral values. There was no clear coception of Beauty, but only a hazy one where the senses enjoy a prominent place. 'The Beauty of which the Vedic singer dreamt evidently contained a strong admixture of brilliance, pomp and ornamentation.' Here possessions and wealth are included. It is 'an imparting of Beauty'.[5]

Before we examine these contentions, we should remember that the Ṛgvedic poet never endowed his deity, save the Maruts, with the human frame. And though Pargiter is enabled to postulate the origin of Idols here, it is rather difficult to arrive at this conclusion. The Ṛgvedic seer is preoccupied more with the spirit behind the apperances; and to him "the more the universe is spiritual the more is it Real." The occidental Vedic paṇḍits err in many a way because of their refusal to understand this Ṛgvedic thought, because of their fondness to read Pantheism into the Saṁhitā. The seer talks of a vision and of an experience. He enables us to comprehend it imaginatively. We cannot visualise the deity in a human shape ; nor can we know the actual form of the deity. Yet we do have the intellectual and imaginative feeling of Beauty. The most common limbs that are referred to are the hands, eyes, cheek and chin. At times the hair and the dress too

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1 Rūpam, 32. 116-119.
2 Ibid. p. 121.
3 Ibid. p. 113.
4 Some problems of Indian Literature.
5 Rūpam, 32. pp. 101, 104.

acquire prominence. All the same his preoccupation is not with the anthropomorphic deity, but with the transcendent and immanent spiritual Reality.

Oldenberg's insistence on the superior Beauty of the human form is directly traceable to that influence of Hegel whose aesthetic has no place for Natural Beauty. Only since Turner, the European Mind began to attach greater significance to the Beauty of Nature; and it is no wonder that Oldenberg treats the Beauty of Nature enunciated by the Ṛgvedic poet to be formal. It is that peculiar Hegelian insistence on the supremacy of the Concrete Universal as embodied only in the Individual.

But Oldenberg exhibits lapses. He too nods like Homer, but without Homer's sublimity in doing so. At one place he tacitly assumes that the 'life and beauty of the human form did not as yet appeal to the poets of the Ṛgveda.' A few lines later he states forgetting this statement: The poet first saw 'beauty in human form and in the appearance of the Gods that resembled human beings'. 'He saw it again in Nature'. The consistency in these statements can be familiar only to Oldenberg, or to Bloomfield who spoke a similar language of self contradiction with reference to the Poetry and the Religion of Ṛgveda. The fact is that these occidental scholars are aware of the conceptions of the seers. But they do not want to admit these canceptions or to build them into a connected system. They alone know why they want to proceed in this way.

In the same way does Oldenberg proceed in maintaining how every conceivable word refers only to physical Beauty or to the form; and this discussion is given an epitaph by him in the words; 'there is no mention of the word which denotes physical beauty in a manner which cannot be mistaken'. And yet he has taken pains to read into the Saṁhitā something which he is sure he can not find. Still he says that in the vedic concept of Beauty the senses alone are prominent.

The next attack is on the concept of Beauty in the History of India as a whole. According to him the Indian Mind never considered Beauty as a universal force, but mixed it up with the practical and other forms of activity. This is a wilful distortion

of truth. To take but one example the Upaniṣads speak of the Absolute as 'Sat,' 'Cit,' and 'Ānanda.' These three respectively stand for Truth, Goodness and Beauty which alone are universal forces even according to Hegel and his followers. The Indian Mind seized upon this truth long long before the European Mind came to exist. And this fact has been sufficiently made clear in the pages of the present work.

Hence arises the necessity to reinterpret the words examined by Oldenberg and others, so that one can formulate the Ṛgvedic concept of Beauty.

(iv)

The grand scenery presented by a huge mountain or a bewitching valley thrusts itself upon the individual whether he wills it or not. Sometimes a finer perception can evoke this experience even when the presented object is too familiar, as in the case of the 'Daffodils' which made Wordsworth sing :

> " They flash upon the inward eye,
> Which is the bliss of solitude."

Awe and fear, wonder and astonishment, an inexplicable but enchanting Beauty and Love constitute our experience at this stage. Such is the sublime which is one of the profoundest Aesthetic experiences.

In Ṛgveda this idea is expressed to a great extent by the words '*Vapuṣ*' and '*Yakṣa.*' For example :

> " Avardhayant subhagam sapta yahvīḥ
> śvetam jajñānam aruṣam mahitvā
> śiśuam na jātam abhyārur aśvā
> devāso agnim janiman vapuṣyan" (3. 1. 4)

'The seven rivers developed Agni: he was white at birth and grew red gradually; like mares running to their newly born child, the gods were astonished at his birth.' Here the origin and development of Agni presents a process that includes the evolution of the red colour from the white one. This in its turn gives

rise to the idea of Fire coming out of water. Apparently this is contrary to experience. And it is heightened by the fact that the Gods are compared to the Mares. The cumulative effect is one of awe, fear, and reverence. It is sublime or Vapuṣ, for a normal thing is seen as supernormal. Again,

> " Idam vapur nivacanam janāsaś
> caranti yan nadyas tasthur āpaḥ
> dve yad īm bibhṛto mātur anye
> iheha jāte yamyā sabandhū " (5. 47. 5).

" The waters stand firm, but the rivers flow ; this secret knowledge is sublime (Vapuṣ) ; separate from his mother, two support him, closely united twins. " The sun is hidden in the waters of the sea ; he rises from the waters, which represent the unfathomable law of Nature. Aditi, the mother of the sun, is invisible. Heaven and Earth are the twins which are sundered apart. But the poetic intuition comprehends Reality as all-inclusive. Heaven and Earth have a common origin. That is, they have their context only in the concrete coherent system of Reality. It is this Reality that is truly sublime. This sublimity rests upon knowledge, the knowledge derived from Experience.

Then again another seer says :

> " Sa me vapuś chadayad aśvinor yo
> ratho virukmān manasā yujānaḥ " (6. 49. 5).

The fact that the chariot of the Aśvins is yoked with the mind is a delighting sublimity. A chariot requires only horses. But these gods have a chariot that employs thought instead of horses. It is only thought or Aesthetic Imagination which is Supreme Reason that can fathom Reality and comprehend the multiplicity as belonging to the system. The sublimity belongs to the nature of thought. Thought here is not discursive, but synthetic, since it yokes or unites the objects to form a system.

Another poet observes :

> " Vapur nu tac cikituṣe cid astu
> samānam nāma dhenu patyamānam
> marteṣv anyad dohase pīpāya
> sakṛc chukram duduhe pṛśnir ūdhaḥ " (6. 66. 1).

" One swells among mankind for milk, and Pṛśni has milked her bright udder only once. But the general name of a cow is given to all. And even to the wise this will still be sublime". Pṛśni is the heavenly cow and the Maruts are her children. She has milked her udder only when they were born. She alone deserves the name of a cow, since only her children fertilise the Earth. But we have many cows and thus the word 'cow' is indiscriminately applied. Consequently, sublimity demands propriety or Aucitya ; it is based on the apprehension of the characteristic and the significant.

Then again,

" Tad in me chañ:ad vapuṣo vapuṣṭaram
putro yajñānam pitror adhīyati
Jāyā patim vahati vagnunā sumat

puṁsa id bhadro vahatuḥ pariṣkṛtaḥ " (10. 32. 3).

' More sublime must seem to me. When the son duly cares for his parents' line, the wife attracts the husband. With a shout of joy the man's auspicious marriage is performed aright '. The individual learns the wisdom of his father and desires to preserve his family in order he might carry on the torch of learning and culture to the future ages. With this idea he marries. And marriage, therefore, aims not at physical or carnal lust, but at spiritual communion. In the language of Kaṭhopaniṣad and Kālidāsa's Duṣyanta, Marriage should not be based on Preyas, but only on Śreyas. When Śreyas becomes the enlivening principle, the institution of Marraige really becomes sublime. Śreyas is only another name for the spiritual factor in existence. As such, True sublimity is spiritual.

These illustrations prove that Vapuṣ in the Ṛgveda means sublimity. And sublimity means (i) Respect and fear for the spirit, (ii) Experience and knowledge of Reality ; (iii) Synthetic thought that comprehends the Real as a coherent system ; (iv) Apprehension of the characteristic and the significant as one ; and (v) Perception of the spiritual in life.

(v)

Yakṣa is interpreted by von Roth as 'a supernatural being,' 'spectral apparition.' Grassmann takes it to mean 'those who

break forth quickly the flood of light,' 'glittering meteor.' Bergaigne gives 'supernatural apparitions.' Ludwig, after Sāyaṇa, means 'feast,' 'festival.' Deussen states 'Wondrous thing,' 'prodigy.' Bloomfield and Oldenberg prefer 'spirit.'

Geldner observes that in some places Yakṣa is something dreaded or detested as sin, and in other places something pleasant to the eyes; it is found in nature[1] and in the breast of men.[2] And, therefore, he gives the following meanings: (1) Astonishment, Surprise, Curiosity; (2) Wonder, Mystery; (3) Wonder, Piece of Art, Magician; (4) Sorcery, or Witchcraft; (5) Enchantment, Transformation. (6) Trick, Imposture, Illusion; (7) Power of working Miracles, Miraculous Cure, Healthy Magic; (8) Object of wonder or Curiosity; (9) Wonderful Creature; (10) Festival; (11) Prodigy in Nature[3].

Yakṣa in classical Sanskrit is a semi-divine being of rare Beauty enjoying a love for Riches and pomp; that is, he is a contradiction in terms. He is both the Thesis and the Antithesis. Exactly in the same way does the Sublime remain,since it includes in itself the feelings of fear and respect. It is a strange or unique synthesis. And the Ṛgvedic Conception is not far from this, though a slightly different evaluation is offered to us in the Saṁhitā

One seer observes:

"Amūrā Viśvā Vṛṣaṇāvimā vām
na yāsu citram dadṛśe na yakṣam" (7.61 5).

Something strange was perceived and this is described as Yakṣa. A thing is strange only when it contradicts itself. Hence do we read:

"Nakṣatram pratnam aminac cariṣṇu
Yakṣasyādhyakṣam taviṣam bṛhantam" (10.88.13).

The sun is called the Adhyakṣa or the over-lord of the Yakṣa or the sublime which is supernatural. The sublime is itself the supernatural and the sun is the overlord of this sublime, for the

1 Atharva Veda 11. 6.4.
2 Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā, 34.2,
3 Vedische Studien, III. pp. 126-143.

sun is feared for his heat and respected for his warmth and light. Again,

> " Mā ta enasvanto yakṣin bhujema
> Yandhiṣmā viprah stuvate varūtham " (7.88.6).

Varuṇa is a Yakṣin, besides being a Māyin (6.48.11) Varuṇa is the guardian of Ṛta, the spiritual principle of the Universe. He is Yakṣin or sublime, because people are afraid of him as the cosmic Law ; they love him as the spiritual principle. That is, Varuṇa is the synthesis of the Good and the Right ; and hence a Yakṣin and a Māyin.

Bṛhaspati is a Yakṣabhṛt :

> " Asya śloko divīyate pṛthivyām
> atyo na yamsad yakṣabhṛd vicetāḥ " (1.190.4)

Here also the Law of prayer is as abstract or as concrete as Varuṇa. The Good and the Right are related in him as knowledge and Prayer. It is this unification that brings sbout the sublimity of Bṛhaspati.

Still more sublime is the conception of the Beautiful and Romantic Maruts as sublime :

> " Atyāso na ye marutaḥ svañco
> Yakṣadṛśo na śubhayanta maryāḥ
>
> Te harmyeṣṭhāḥ śiśavo na śubhrā
> Vatsāso na prakrīḷinaḥ payodhāḥ " (7.56.16).

The Maruts are swift as horses, they deck purifying themselves (śubhayanta) like youths who are like " Yakṣadṛśas ". According to Geldner, here it means ' Youths at a festive gathering '. But " Yakṣadṛśaḥ " only means they are sublime and are objects of Experience and Knowledge. That is, sublimity is truly objective. It is only when its antithesis is associated with it that it becomes also subjective, only to transcend these subjective and objective values in the final synthesis.

Thus Yakṣa also denotes sublimity, but here it implies (i) self-contradictory in the sense that it evokes in the spectator a con-

tradictory or conflicting emotion ; (ii) Unification of fear and love; (iii) Synthesis of Good and Right ; and (iv) Objective.

(vi)

The Gandharva protects the dwelling place of Soma, and the generation of the Gods ; he is *Adbhuta* or Sublime.

" Gandharva itthā padam asya rakṣati
Pāti devānām janimāny adbhutaḥ " (9.83.4.).

The fact that Gandharva is made to protect the Divine that sustains him, is the point of sublimity. That is, the sublime consists in the dissociation of the substantive and its adjective. The substantive rejects the Adjective for it does not fit into the context. The Gandharva represents the splendour and the majesty of the sun, along with the reposing calmness of the Moon. The co-existence of splendour and quietude is inconceivable by thought ; but yet it is possible for it can be experienced. Hence he is Adbhuta ; he presents an inner discord, the violation of the principles of Objectivity and Individuality.

The Gandharva is the guardian of Soma and the second husband of the virgins, though his ward is the first. That is, the sublime is beyond time and it does not change. Yet there is change within it. The wise lick with their thoughts the waters that are in the firm place of the Gandharva :

" Tayor id ghṛtavat payo viprā rihanti dhītibhiḥ
Gandharvasya dhruve pade " (1. 22. 14)

The poetic intuition licks or experiences the sublimity or Gandharva, only as long as the sublime is objective and unchanging.

The seer moved in spirit and beheld the Gandharvas proceeding with their Vāyukeśas :

" Apaśyam atra manasā jaganvān
vrate Gandharvān api vāyukeśān " (3. 38. 6).

The Vāyukeśas are an apparent impossibility ; but yet they agree with the intuitive apperception. Consequently the sublime involves a contradiction of the empirical fact only to ensure greater harmony and fuller richness.

The moon is the divine Gandharva of the floods:

" Apām Gandharvam divyam nṛcakṣasam
somam viśvasya bhuvanasya rājase " (9. 86. 36).

And yet we are told at another place that the waters are in the firm place of the Gandharva. In other words the sublime is changeless though there is change within it. Though the Gandharva is a lover, his path is Ṛta:

" Agnir gāndharvīm pathyām ṛtasya " (10. 80. 6)

The unification of Love and Law is, therefore, another important feature of the sublime. This divine being inspires the thoughts so that we may distinguish truth from falsehood (10. 139. 5). And the seer moves across the paths of the Apsarasas, Gandharvas, and Mṛgas.

" Apsarasām gandharvāṇām mṛgāṇām caraṇe caran
Keśī ketasya vidvānt sakhā svādur madintamaḥ "
(10. 136. 6).

There he becomes the friend and enjoys the Aesthetic ecstasy. Here is the transport to higher realms along with fear and respect, the true definition of the sublime.

(vii)

Next we have to examine the words that refer to the various aspects of Beauty. First we have '*Apsas*'. Von Roth interprets 'Apsas' by 'cheek' or 'some other part of the body'; Böhtlingk by 'forehead', or 'face'; Weber and Grassmann by 'breast'; Ludwig by 'face' 'cheek' and in 8. 45. 5, by 'waist'; and Indian tradition by 'form' or 'rūpa'.

This word is applied to Uṣas twice in the text. In 1. 124. 7 we read:

" Jāyeva patya uśatī suvāsāḥ
uṣā hasreva ni riṇīte apsaḥ

'Like a well-dressed beloved in love to her lover, does Uṣas unmask her beauty (apsaḥ) like a 'hasrā'. Taking for granted that 'hasrā' and 'Yoṣā Bhadrā' refer to courtezans, Pischel first interpreted 'Apsaḥ' as 'cheek', 'forehead', 'face', 'countenance'[1]. But here and in

[1] Vedische Studien, I. 310.

" Prati tvā śavasī vadad
girāv apso na yodhiṣat " (8. 45. 5),

Sāyaṇa gave the meanings as 'Rūpa', Darśanīya.' 'Hasrā, only means 'a smiling maiden'. The other passage is:

" Eṣā pratīcī duhitā divo nṝn
Yoṣeva bhadrā ni riṇīte apsaḥ" (5.80.6).

" Standing before mortals, this daughter of the Heavens unmasks her beauty (apsaḥ) like a happy woman. " Bhadrā, need not be taken to mean 'lusty' with Geldner and Pischel.

We have 'Dīrghāpsaḥ' as the epithet of a cart, and 'Sahasrāpsaḥ' as that of the sacrifice:

" Ratho vām mitrāvaruṇā dīrghāpsāḥ
syūmagabhastiḥ sūro nādyaut " (1. 122. 15).

" Āpo na makṣū sumatir bhavā naḥ
sahasrāpsāḥ pṛtanāṣāṇ na yajñaḥ " (9. 88. 7).

Sāyaṇa interprets them as 'Ati vistṛta rūpa' and " Bahu rūpa." Here the Beautiful is comprehended as Extension or all-inclusive; that is, Beauty is all-inclusive. There is nothing outside Beauty. As such Apsaḥ means only Beauty as objective. Like a smiling maiden uṣas unmasks her Beauty. This Beauty is not physical, but psycho-physical at the same time. It is 'Lāvaṇya' that is immanent and transcendent at the same time.

(viii)

The next word is '*Psaras.*' Hillebrandt, Ludwig and Benfey interpret it as 'food', or 'meat'; Von Roth as 'favourite dish', 'enjoyment' or 'feast'; Grassmann as 'meal', 'repast', 'feast' or 'treat'; and Sāyaṇa as 'pānīya', 'anna', 'bhakṣaṇa' and so on. We have 'Devapsarastama[1]' 'Madhupsaras[2]', 'Supsarastama[3]' and other compound formations. The word 'Psara' is found in

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[1] 9. 104.5. " Sa no medānām pata indo
devapsarā asi "
9. 105,5. " Sa no harīṇām pata indo
devapsaras tamaḥ "

[2] 4. 33.3. Te vājo vibhvā ṛbhur indravanto
madhupsaraso no avantu yajñam ".

[3] 8. 26.24. " Tvam hi supsarastamam
nṛṣadaneṣu hūmahe "

" Mahi psaraḥ sukṛtam somyam Madhūrvī
gavyūtir aditer ṛtam yate " (9. 74. 3) ;

" ā vacyasva mahi psaro vṛṣendo
dyumnavattamaḥ " (9. 2. 2) ;

" Kadhā rādhāma sakhāyaḥ stomam mitrasy āryamṇah
mahi psaro varuṇasya " (1. 41. 7).

Here we find the term associated directly with the inherent Beauty as revealed in the appearance or form or shape; that is, beauty as relative to existence or expression is stressed here. Consequently 'Devapsaras' is the 'Divine expression of Beauty' and 'Supsarastama' is the 'best expression of Beauty.' And, therefore, in the Ṛk

" Asūta pṛśnir mahate raṇāya
tveṣam ayāsām marutām anīkam
te sapsarāso 'janayantābhvam
ād it svadhām isirām pary apaśyan " (1. 168. 9).

it means the same.

These passages, therefore, do not state simply the 'form' or the 'object' as Pischel thought. They indicate that Beauty, which is Reality or Truth, expresses itself through a finite medium. In this expression there are grades or degrees for it differs according to the medium selected. Thus Beauty is not purely abstract; for it has a reference to form with which it achieves a unity or Ananyatva.

(ix)

Following Pischel were we to interpret '*Psaras*' as 'form', then '*Apsaras*' would mean 'formless.' Pischel, of course, draws a significant comparison in this connection with Vāyu who is conceived as Beautiful in the Saṁhitā[1]. 'Apsarasas' are the celebrated nymphs of Beauty and Loveliness. To imagine that they are 'formless,' as does Pischel, is to run contrary to Aesthetic experience.

[1] Vedische Studien, III. 195–198.

The Apsarasa is the ocean nymph (Samudriyā apyā yoṣā) wedded to the Gandharva of the floods[1]. She smiles sweetly and supports her lover in the sublimest heaven[2]. Here we have evidently a subtle reference to the graceful and charming expression of Beauty that evokes feelings of love and life. Hence the Apsarasa here is the embodiment of objective Beauty.

The Apsarasas fly like red kine and low like milch cows[3]. They fly like scared snakes in terror, and like chariot horses when the car touches them[4]. Here we are told that Beauty is just like a serpent in a way; and Browning speaks of the 'Serpentining' Beauty of a lady. That is, Beauty attracts human adoration, but discards mortal touch. It is this that constitutes spiritual Beauty. While Purūravas could not adore this sublime Beauty, the Apsaras fled like the first dawn[5], still flashing brilliant like the falling lightning[6]. The Apsarasas are said to exhibit the Beauty of their bodies like swans. But the actual Ṛk reads:

"Yad āsu marto amṛtāsu nispṛk
sam kṣoṇībhiḥ kratubhir na pṛṅkte
tā ātayo na tanvaḥ śumbhata svā
aśvāso na krīlayo dandaśānāḥ" (10. 95. 9).

"The bodies of these damsels are purified, decorated or sanctified (Śumbhata) like those of the swans. Therefore they bite and nibble like horses in play when a mortal wooes these Immortals."

(x)

Then there is the word '*Śrī*' which has been variously interpreted. It is used as 'auspicious or evoking respect' in classical

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1 R. V. X. 10, 4 Etc.,

2 R. V. X. 123. 5:
"Apsarā jāram upa śiṣmiyāṇā
Yoṣā bibharti parame vyoman."

3 R. V. X. 95. 6.
"Tā añjayo aruṇayo na sasruḥ
Śriye gāvo na dhenavo 'navanta".

4 R. V. X. 95. 8.
"Apa sma mat tarasantī na bhujyus
tā atra san rathaspṛśo nāśvāḥ".

5 R. V. X. 95. 2.

6 R. V. X. 10. 95. 10.

literature. It does not refer to ornamentation or to any other external aspect of Beauty. It denotes simply the Beautiful. It is interesting in Aesthetics to enquire the relation between the Beautiful object and its ornamentation. How is the decoration related to the decorated? Before we decide this, we have to find out whether the so called 'decorated' requires any 'decoration.' Do the decorations actually beautify the object? Or do the Beautiful obejects make the alaṁkaras Beautiful? One poet observes that the rays make even the unlovely (aśrīram) look beautiful (supratīkam):

> " Yūyam gāvo medayathā kṛśam cid
> aśrīram cit kṛṇuthā supratīkam" (6. 28. 6).

This is a significant verse giving us the opinion held by the seers of Ṛgveda on the relation between the Beautiful and its Alaṁkāras. Even that which is not Beautiful (aśrīram) is made to appear Beautiful by the rays. In this hymn the word 'gāvaḥ' does not mean 'the cows,' but 'the rays of light of the dawns.' Uṣas in Ṛgveda primarily stands for Aesthetic Beauty, and secondarily for the Dance of consciousness or the Cosmic Dance. Therefore everything, even the Non-Beautiful becomes Beautiful in the realm of Fine Art. And Kālidāsa echoed this idea when he naively observed:

> " yad yat sādhu na, citre syāt kriyate
> tat tad anyathā. " [1]

It is not the Alaṁkāra that makes an object Beautiful. On the other hand, the Beautiful transforms into itself even the Alaṁkāras. Therefore according to the Ṛgvedic seers, Beauty belongs to Fine Arts; and outside the Fine Arts there is no Beauty. Hence do we read in 'Śukra Nīti Sāra:

> " Śāstra mānena yo ramyaḥ
> sa ramyo nānya eva hi. [2] "

And Abhinavagupta observes:

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[1] Abhijnānaśākuntalam, 6.14.

[2] Śukranītisāra, 4. 4.104.

" Sarvānugrāhakam hi śāstram iti nyāyāt
tena nāṭya eva rasā, no loke. Kāvyam ca
nāṭyam eva [1] "

Hence the Beautiful cannot be defined in terms of its Alaṁkāras. It is self-existent and self-subsistent. It is self-complete and all inclusive. It is the Spirit or Reality manifesting through expression or finitude.

At the same time it is quite possible that a Beautiful object can be disfigured by ornamentation. This takes place when the decoration does not fit in with the decorated ; in the language of metaphysics when the substantive rejects the adjective. A garment can make a man unlovely (aśrīra) :

" Aśrīrā tanūr bhavati
ruśatī pāpayāmuyā " (10. 85. 30).

(xi)

The vedic poets also speak of Alaṁkāras or the form of Beauty, the form which involves the relation between parts and the whole. A certain amount of artistic effort can be seen in a beautiful object. We are told that all kinds of Beauty (Viśvā śrīḥ) are decked (pipiśe) on the bodies of the Maruts :

" Nṛmṇā śīrṣasv āyudhā ratheṣu vo
viśvā vaḥ śrīr adhi tanūṣu pipiśe " (5. 57. 6).

Here the poet is referring more to the formal graces that stand as appendages, as the dress of an individual, and not as his skin. Hence he is emphasising the point that the decorations made to the Beautiful are like the clothes one puts on. That is the Alaṁkāras do not constitute the Beautiful, nor do they develop the Beautiful. In a word, they are not essential. Hence it is that a poet observes that a beautiful ornament enriches Beauty that is already inherent.

" Śreṣṭham vaḥ peśo adhi dhāyi darśatam " (4. 36. 7).

The inherent Beauty of an object is always objective and can be apprehended as such (darśam). The ornament (peśaḥ) is simply tagged on to it. Another informs us :

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1 Abhinava Bhāratī.

"Surukme hi supeśasādhi śriyā virājataḥ" (1. 188. 6).
The bright and lustruous decorations clothe the Beautiful. But the Beautiful shines in itself (Virājataḥ) or is "Svayam prakāśa" Beauty exists in itself (Virājataḥ) and also for itself (darśatam)

(xii)

Valgu is from 'valg' meaning 'springing or undulating motion as applied to the horses, the monkeys, joyous people, the surging waves, the heaving bosom and the like.' Here is intended a sort of 'skilful and felicitous movement.'

"Bṛhaspatim yaḥ subhṛtam bibharti
valgūyati vandate pūrvabhājam" (4. 50. 7).

Here we pass to another interesting aspect of the Beautiful. The Beautiful is not simply "the selfexistent Pleasant," or "the self-subsistent Emotional." It is beyond Pravṛtti or activity only in a transcendental sense. The Beautiful is active or an activity. It constantly realises itself by virtue of the fact that it is sustained by the artistic and aesthetic movement (Valgu). It is undulating or ever active. In being active it is of the nature of consciousness.

Citra, *Darśata*, and *Rūpa* also seem to convey something about the form of Beauty. But all these refer primarily to the objectivity of the Beautiful.

"Śreṣṭham vaḥ peśo adhi dhāyi darśatam" (4. 36. 7).
The Beautifual is an object that can be apprehended or realised. Its existence or manifestation does not depend upon the individual will. The awareness of Beauty depends only upon the activity of the experiencing Individual.

"Vāyav ā yāhi darśateme somā
araṁkṛtāḥ' (1. 2. 1).

But in this statement the Ṛgvedic poet accepts a new feature of Beauty. He is referring to Vāyu or the wind as the objective Beauty, and he is contrasting this Vāyu which is Beautiful in itself, with Soma that is decorated ; that is, with the Soma that exists for something else. Consequently while the Alaṁkāras are

only means to an end, Beauty alone is an end in itself and for itself.

(xiii)

Beauty has a formal aspect beside a material one. The form is 'Lāvaṇya,' while the content is 'Bhāva.' In Beauty we require 'Bhāva Lāvaṇya Yojanā,'[1] for they can be distinguished, but not separated. The form includes symmetry, harmony, balance and propriety. It should be the fitting vehicle conveying the thought. It should evolve a synthesis. That is, the content merges itself in the form, or loses itself in the form to appear. Thus the form comes to hide it. Hence it is said that 'Art lies in concealing Art.' The formal art consists of polish, artistić finish which should not appear to be the result of conscious endeavour. Though the poet 'should load every rift with ore,' yet poetry should 'come' and appear 'as naturally as the leaves of a tree.'

This aspect of Artistic touch is conveyed by the word '*Śubha.*' Maruts are the first and foremost possessors of śubha in Ṛgveda. But the Aśvins are called śubhaspatī. By itself 'Śubh' cannot be said to refer to the formal aspect alone. This word in classical Sanskrit connotes auspiciousness, and in the vedic it also refers to purity. As such it involves matter. Consequently when Maruts possess śubha, it only means that they are auspicious, pure. These two qualities present a synthetic unity of content and form. And hence the Aśvins, who are the great aestheticians, are said to be śubhaspatī.

(xiv)

Material possessions beautify the object or person owning them in the sense that they bring into prominence the latent or the potential Beauty. The Alaṁkāras constituting the formal side of art are no better than material possessions. They are finite or sensuous. They beautify in so far as they become proper or appropriate instruments manifesting the spirit of Beauty. Their

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1 Cf. " Rūpabhedāḥ pramāṇāni
bhāvalāvaṇyayojanam
sādṛśyam varṇikābhaṅga
iti citram ṣaḍaṅgakam "
(Jayamaṅgalā on Vātsyāyana).

value lies in being proper media and nothing more. Now, *Peśas* in Ṛgveda may be interpreted as formal decoration. Aśvapeśas and vājapeśas might actually support this contention. But the Ṛgvedic poets also speak of viśvapeśas, sahasrāpsa and Hiraṇyapeśas. Here it is impossible to reconcile ourselves to the statement that the Ṛgvedic poets isolate the formal aspect, or that they insist on the form alone; for Viśvapeśas plainly refers to the Beautifying of the whole or to the universal Beautifying. In either case it cannot be formal. Similarly sahasrāpsa can refer only to the innumerable ways in which Beauty is revealed. And Hiraṇyapeśas has the proper meaning in Yāska who takes Hiraṇya to signify " Hitaramaṇīya. " It is instructive and delightful, the spirit and the sense.

Beauty is the synthetic unity of content and form. It is always more than the sum of its parts. The parts lose their separate or individual significance in the Beautiful object. They form into an integral whole, an organic system. The principle of Beauty is immanent in them. The form as such, therefore, means the proper medium for the revelation of the Beautiful. That is, ornamentation or decoration acquires its significance by virtue of its characteristic medium-value or expression value. And yet the medium cannot be separated from its content, just as the sound which is the medium cannot be isolated from its meaning, and just as the body from the soul. The medium of expression and the content of expression have relation of Ananyatva.

One poet of Ṛgveda observes: —
' The heroes come to the assemblies in Beauty ' :

" Nṛpeśaso vidatheṣu pra jātā
abhīmam yajñam vi caranta pūrvīḥ " (3-4-5).

Here "Nṛpeśas ' has the meaning ' Beautiful men ' and not ' Beautified men '. Again another says, ' The song of the poet is pure thought (Dhiyam), and is śucipeśasam ' :—

" Eti pra hotā vratam asya māyay-
ordhvām dadhānaḥ śucipeśasam dhiyam " (1-144-1).

The decoration acquires purity or is pure since it manifests the

purity of thought. And so we read, 'Agni makes the sacrifice assume varied Beauty (purupeśasm) by thought '[1].

In the Naighaṇṭuka *Peśas* is read under the names of 'gold' (1.2) and 'form' (3.7). And von Roth has assigned the meanings of (i) 'Object' 'form' ; (ii) 'artistic figure,' 'ornament' 'fabric'. Varṇa, Vapus, Nirṇig and Rūpa all refer to Rūpa or form of the object. Comparing the passages employing Peśas, and examining the forms Aśvapeśas, Vājapeśas, Vīrapeśas, Nṛpeśas, Ṛtapeśas, Viśvapeśas, Śucipeśas, Purupeśas, Hiraṇyapeśas and Supeśas, Pischel has arrived at the conclusion that Peśas refers to form, object, colour[2]. The latter literature no doubt uniformly employs Peśas to denote a sort of decoration or the external appearance or form of Beauty. Yet the foregoing usages reveal that Peśas denotes the synthetic unity of content and form.

(xv)

There are again passages to prove that the concept of Beauty in Ṛgveda demands this synthetic unity. We read 'Thought is Beautiful in itself and so are its refinements'. It is 'Śukravarṇam'.

" Eti pra hotā vratam asya māyay-
ordhvām dadhānaḥ śucipeśasam dhiyam " (1-144-1).

Thougt is śucipeśas. Is it decorated by purity ? or pure with decoration ? Both meanings are wrong, for it refers only to the purity of Beauty. Moreover we read : 'Indra brings Beauty to that which has none':

" Ketum kṛṇvann aketave peśo maryā apeśase
sam uṣadbhir ajāyathāḥ " (1-6-3).

The 'apeśas' or the non-beautiful becomes beautiful by virtue of Indra's activity, i. e. the activity of the spirit. It is the spirit of Beauty alone that transforms everything into the Beautiful, because Reality or Absolute is itself the Beautiful as a poet says : 'Varuṇa himself is the Beauty of the rivers':

" Rājā rāṣṭrāṇām peśo nadīnām " (7-34-11)

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1 R. V. 3. 3.6 " Agnir devebhir manuṣaśca jantubhis
tanvāno yajñam purupeśasam dhiyā "

2 Vedische Studien II. pp. 113-125.

Varuṇa is the Beauty of the Rivers because he constitutes their inner meaning. They have their context or significance only in him. Varuṇa is Ṛtapeśas (5. 66. 1), while the Aśvins are Ṛtapsū (1. 180. 3). Ṛta is not the Deity's decoration, ncr is the deity the decoration of Ṛta, the moral and spiritual principle in the universe. The deity is Beauty or Ṛta, or Beauty of Ṛta or Ṛta of Beauty.

(xvi)

Oldenberg interprets some words as referring to the form of Beauty. But a close examination will reveal that they refer to the contents also. They suggest the indivisible unity and oneness of Beauty. The Maruts, for example, are reported to have decorated (pipiśre) their bodies with their golden natures like young suitors, sons of wealthy people. They set their lustrous Beauty (śriye śreyāṁsaḥ) on their forms for glory:

" Varā ived raivatāso hiraṇyair
abhi svadhābhis tanvaḥ pipiśre
śriye śreyāṁsas tavaso ratheṣu
satrā mahāṁsi cakrire tanūṣu " (5. 60. 4).

Here the lustrous Beauty is set on their forms; and this setting only refers to its manifestation or revelation (Abhivyakti). Hence another poet says: 'The look of Agni is the sweetest (svādiṣṭha) and shines like gold in Beauty (śriye).'

" Tava svādiṣṭhāgne sam dṛṣṭir id ā cid ahna id ā aktoḥ
śriye rukmo na rocata upāke " (4. 10. 5).

Beauty is not only the self existent, but also the active and objective present. The splendours (śriyaḥ) of Agni are fair (spārha) to see:

" Spārhā yasya śriyo dṛśe " (7, 15. 5).

This perceptibility or cognizibility makes Beauty objective and suggestive, for Agni is fair to see. The perception suggests a train of Ideas 'In the pleasant (spārha) hues of Agni, effulgent Beauty (Śriyaḥ) is visible':

" Tvam agne subhṛta uttamam vayas
tava spārhe varṇa ā saṁdṛśi śriyaḥ " (2. 1. 12).

The Ṛtus shine (virājataḥ) in great Beauty (śriyā) with beautiful jewelled decorations (surukmehi supeśasā) :

"Surukme hi supeśasā śriyā virājataḥ
uṣasāveha sīdatām " (1. 188. 6).

With fair jewels and radiant Beauty (Śukrapiśam) the divine damsels are in Beauty (śriyam).

" Divye yoṣaṇe bṛhatī surukme
adhi śriyam śukrapiśam dadhāne " (10-110-6).

The decorations do not add to the Beauty. They are themselves made Beautiful. As Kālidāsa says in Śākuntalam,

" Kim iva hi madhurāṇām
maṇḍanam nākṛtīnām ".

'The Maruts are beautiful (cāravaḥ) like the elevated horn of the bull for beauty (śriyase) and like horses; they show themselves for Beauty (śriyase) like bridegrooms ' :

" Gavām iva śriyase śṛṅgam uttamam
sūryo na cakṣū rajaso visarjane
atyā iv asubhvaś cāravaḥ sthana
maryā iva śriyase cetathā naraḥ " (5. 59. 3)

Beauty constantly strives after Expression. This expression alone renders possible the fuller Aestheic experience.

'The bodies of the Aśvins shine with delightful beauty ' (spārhayā śrīyā) :

" Abhi vām viśvā niyutaḥ sacante
spārhayā śriyā tanvā śubhānā " (7-72-1).

And ' Beauty sits on every face (anīkeṣu) of the Maruts ' :

" Sthirā dhanvāny āyudhā ratheṣu
vo' nīkeṣv adhi śriyaḥ " (8-20-12).

That is, the face alone is the powerful revealing medium, for it contains the two supreior senses or the two Aesthetic senses called the Eye and the Ear [1].

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[1] See Bharata's Nāṭya śāstra : " Krīḍanī-yakam icchāmo dṛśyam śravyam ca yad bhavet "
Cf. Hegel's Aesthetik : Einleitung, on the Aesthetic senses.

Beauty, in these passages, is conceivd as a splendour, an effulgence that gushes forth spontaneously and powerfully. It might be exprienced as a pleasant emotion; but it is, in reality, objective. To be apprehended and experienced, Beauty must be in the object of thought and of feeling. At the same time it is apprehended as one with its medium of revelation, for Art is the sensuous manifestation of the Real [1], or as Kālidāsa said, 'Lalita Vijñāna[2]'.

(xvii)

Oldenberg's list of words does not consist of the words for Beauty and Beautiful alone. Just as his Ākhyānas comprised of dialogues, monologues, soliloquies and ballads, so do these words. There are certain words which refer to the aesthetic experience proper. Others speak of the object of Beauty as self-luminous. One such important word is Bhand. This *Bhand* refers to the luminous manifestation of Beauty in a finite form, through an object. A sort of radiance is felt. Night and Dawn shine (ābhandamāne) with beautiful decoration:

" Ā bhandamāne upāke naktoṣāsā supeśasā
yahvī ṛtasya mātarā sīdatam barhirā sumat "

(1-142-7)

In different colours they come near, smiling and shining:

" Ā bhandamāne uṣasā upāke
uta smayete tanvā virūpe " (3-4-6).

The wise Agni is the beloved of many and yet he shines.

" Ā viveśa rodasī bhūri varpasā
purupriyo bhandate dhāmabhiḥ kaviḥ " (3-3-4)

The radiance is eternal, and ever fresh. Hence it is a characteristic of Beauty. The radiance emanates from the object and constantly becomes new by creating or revealing itself at every moment [3].

[1] Hegel : Phil. des Religion 2.8 Aesthetik.
[2] Mālavikāgnimitram, 2-13.
[3] Cf. " Kṣaṇe kṣaṇe yan navatām upaiti
tadeva rūpam ramaṇīyatāyāḥ "
(Māgha : Śiśupālavadha).

(xviii)

Kalyāṇa is another word characterising the Beautiful and also describing the mental activity. The wife of Indra is Kalyāṇī, and there is joy for him in his home.

" Pitur na putraḥ sicam ā rabhe ta
Indra svādiṣṭhayā girā śacīvaḥ " (3-53-2)

The ladies that visit the festiva gathering are Kalyāṇyaḥ and they are smiling.

" Abhi pravanta samaneva yoṣāḥ
kalyāṇyaḥ smayamānāso agnim " (4. 58. 8).

Agni is Kalyāṇa and so are the waters and Soma :

" Tvam no agne pitror upastha
ā devo deveṣv anavadya jāgṛviḥ
tanūkṛd bodhi pramatiś ca kārave
tvam kalyāṇā vasu viśvam opiṣe " (1. 31. 9).
" yābhiḥ somo modate harṣate ca
Kalyāṇībhir yuvatibhir na maryaḥ " (10. 30. 5).

(xix)

Bhadrā as an Aesthetic term denotes delight and happiness. Beauty here is the union of the significant content with the characteristic form which is well constituted and developed. So Uṣas is Beautiful ; she exhibits her form like a bride decorated by her mother. As such she is delightful (bhadrā) :

" Susaṁkāśā mātṛ mṛṣṭeva yoṣā
āvis tanvam kṛṇuṣe dṛśe kam
bhadrā tvam uṣo vitaram vyuccha " (1. 123. 11).

' The delighter has come following the delightful dame ; the lover follows his sister. ' Beauty as latent is spoken of here :

" Bhadro bhadrayā sacamāna āgāt
svasāram jāro abhy eti paścāt " (10. 3. 3).

Beauty refers to the mind. It is a way of conceiving, feeling and experiencing the object. Finally it is knowing for it is sustained by cognition.

In some cases Oldenberg interprets Bhadrā as 'the indwelling spiritual force[1].' This contradicts his peculiar thesis of Ṛgveda exhibiting an elementary notion of Beauty. But as usual Oldenberg nods, and he speaks truth while nodding. A poet observes:

"ubhe bhadre joṣayete na mene
gāvo na vāśrā upa tasthur evaiḥ" (1. 95. 6).

'The delightful wives tend Agni.' Here it is not so much the indwelling force that is emphasized, as the characteristic expression of Beauty. They are delightful only when they are Beautiful. Similarly we read: 'The Maruts are the bridegrooms having a delightful beloved (Bhadra Jānayaḥ):

"Parā vīrāsa etana maryāso bhadrajānayaḥ"
(5. 61. 4).

Opposite to men, like a pleasing lady does Uṣas bend her forehead downwards.

"Eṣā pratīcī duhitā divo nṝn
yoṣeva bhadrā ni riṇīte apsaḥ" (5. 80. 6).

With beautiful decorations were a lady to be pleasing (Bhadrā), she finds at once a friend herself among the people:

"Bhadrā vadhūr bhavati yat supeśāḥ
svayam sā mitram vanute jane cit" (10. 27. 12).

The poet wants a delightful and happy (Bhadram) mind, mental power, and energy:

"Bhadram no api vātaya
mano dakṣam uta kratum" (10. 25. 1).

It is the delightful or the pleasing activity (Bhadram Kratum) that he longs for:

"Ṛtasya raśmim anuyacchamānā
bhadram bhadram kratum asmāsu dhehi"
(1. 123. 13).

Agni is pleasing like an activity (Kratur na Bhadraḥ)

[1] Rūpam, 32. 107.

" Kṣemo na sādhuḥ
Kratur na bhadraḥ " (1. 67. 2).

This is, Beauty sets in motion the Aesthetic activity, which is cognitive, affective and conative at the same time. It involves the sensations and images sustained by the continuity of interest and attention. It renders possible the intuitive apprehension of the poetic fact. Then alone can we have the 'satisfying imaginative experience[1]. '

(xx)

Raṇva signifies 'delight' the experience of the spectator. The same idea of rejoicing is again evident in *Vāma*. This enjoyment is a transcendental or spiritual ecstasy, a transport to higher realms of thought and experience. It is a direct and immediate experience of an object as united into a system with the subject. The lines like

" Idam śreṣṭham jyotiṣām jyotir āgāc
citraḥ praketo ajaiṇṣṭa vibhvā " (1-113-1).

Such lines show that the object of poetic experience is near at hand ; but the poet experiences a new birth. This perception of Truth as Beauty is the experience of the inner life of things, of the vital spiritual principle of the Universe.

Svādu conveys the nature of the poetic experience of the Beautiful. Sweetness is the prime characteristic of Beauty.

Cāru on the other hand denotes the pleasant state of a pleasant object. The oblation is 'cāru priyatamam ' :

" Abhīm ṛtasya viṣṭapam duhate pṛśnimātaraḥ
Cāru priyatamam haviḥ " (9-34-5)

Indra's might and Soma are pleasant :

" Sa id vane namasyubhir vacasyate
cāru janeṣu prabruvāṇa indriyam " (1-55-4).
" vaiśvānarāya matir navyasī śuciḥ
soma iva pavate cārur agnaye " (6-8-1).

[1] A. C. Bradley : Poetry for Poetry's sake.

In a charming (cāru) body, the soul of the dead one becomes dear (priya) to the Gods.

Samveśane tanvaś cārur edhi
priyo devānām parame janitre" (10-56-1).

Agni is both Bhadrā and Cāru. The object is delightful, pleasing and dear:

" Bhadrā te agne svanīka saṁdṛg
ghorasya sato viṣuṇasya cāruḥ " (4-6-6).

The seers speak of pleasant Beauty (Śriyam Cārum):

" Adhi śriyam ni dadhuś cārum asmin
divo yad akṣī amṛtā akṛṇvan " (1-72-10).

This represents the synthesis of the sublime and the comic which is the definition of the Beautiful.

(xxi)

When we observe that the flowing drops of Soma are beautiful like serpents, we lose the serene atmoshere of Beauty.

" Ikṣṇeyā atyā so na cāravo
brahma brahma ye jujuṣur havir haviḥ " (9-77-3)

Here we enter the sphere of Beauty as creative aad active, as all-inclusive and expansive, as unity and diversity. It is the dialectic of Beauty. The being of Beauty is the Sublime. It has Becoming in its negation, the dissociation of content from the form. The Being and the Becoming have their final synthesis in Beauty. The nonsensuous Idea or the Real unites with the sensuous fact or medium or expression. When these two steps have Ananyatva then we have Beauty. This all-inclusive system of Beauty is apparent in Indrāṇī who is described as 'Serpentining Beauty'. Lopāmudrā eclipses all others in Beauty-Lupta Mudrā. And Urvaśī is as Śrīharṣa says, 'uruvaśīkṛtaviśvā'[1] She harmonises every thing and hence she is Absolute Beauty. We are also told that the Viśvedevas change their forms like serpents (ahimāyāsaḥ).[2]

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[1] Naiṣadhīya caritam, 5.

[2] See Oldenberg's interesting note on this word in his "Ṛgveda— Text Kritische und Exegetische Noten".

" Viśve devāso asridha
ehimāyāso adruhaḥ " (1. 3. 9).

That is there are degrees of Beauty. These degrees are relative to their media, and to their contexts.

(xxii)

Nature is Beautiful, and it provides a happy place for the Beauty of the Individual. The woman represents the perfection of Beauty. The Ṛgvedic poet saw Beauty in the human form. He wanted a Beautiful environment, in order that the Beautiful soul might have a harmonious development. So in the second stage he discovered Nature to be Beautiful. The thesis is the human being.

The fingers that kindle the fire and press the Soma juice are sisters, mothers, damsels. Agni cares for each one like a dame at home (1. 66. 3). Yet he is the maiden's lover and the matron's lord (1. 66. 4). Still he is an active matron (1. 79. 1). He is 'citro yad abhrāṭ' (1. 66. 3) 'tveṣa pratīkā' (1, 66. 4), and 'śucibhrāja' (1. 79. 1). The preparation and the decking of altar is like a dame who dresses herself for her husband :

" Ayam yoniś cakṛmā yam vayam te
jāyeva patya uśatī suvāsāḥ " (4. 3. 2).

A blameless dame is dear to her lord :

" Anavadyā patijuṣṭeva nārī " (1. 73. 3).

The young maid does not repel her lover :

" Na smā varante yuvatim na śaryām " (10. 178. 3).

Agni kisses the youthful maiden :

" Rerihyate yuvatim viśpatiḥ san " (10. 4. 4).

The poet invites Indra like a bridegroom thinking of his consort :

" Maryo na yoṣām abhimanyamānaḥ " (4. 20. 5).

The cows sing in joy to Soma as a woman to her lover :

" Abhi gāvo anūṣata yoṣā jāram iva priyam " (9. 32. 5).

The songs are sung to Soma as a lover to his beloved :

" Priyām na jāro abhigīta induḥ " (9. 96. 23).

Like a young man with pleasant and fair damsels, Soma is delighted :

"yābhiḥ somo modate harṣate ca
kalyāṇībhir yuvatibhir na maryaḥ" (10-30-5).

The women that go to the festive gatherings are examples of perfect Beauty. The dancers decorated themselves after the fashion of the Dawns. (1. 92 4); that is, they had natural Beauty. The women that go to the festive gathering decorate their Beauty (1. 112. 4), so that the inherent Beauty might be manifest immediately. It is evident in these and similar passages that the form of the woman was taken as Ideal Beauty, however much Oldenberg and his followers might object. This perception is no mean achievement: for it is here that we find the key to unlock the mystery of Beauty as a manifestation of Reality, to the mystery of Brahman as Ānanda. The woman's Beauty is partly sensuous and sensuousness is the characteristic of finitude. At the same time the Beauty of a woman is spiritual, for as Agastya and Lopāmudrā remind us, and as Urvaśī declares, marriage means the synthesis of Tapas and Kāma. So is Kālidāsa's Śiva 'Naiṣṭhika Sundaraḥ' (5. 68). Thus Beauty is spiritual and sensuous. Hence the Absolute is experienced in the realm of Beauty only mediately; as Abhinava Gupta declares, it is 'paramparā prāpta,' not 'sākṣāt' or as the Advaita Vedānta observes it is 'Savikalpaka jñāna' which suggests and leads us to Nirvikalpaka Jñāna.

(xxiii)

The Vedic seers felt the necessity of a Beautiful Universe for a Beautiful soul. And they accordingly felt the Beauty of Nature, since Nature is the copula between the Absolute and the finite self.

Vāyu is preeminently Beautiful.

He is not only Beautiful (darśata).

"vāyav ā yāhi darśateme somā
aramkṛtāḥ" (1. 2. 1);

but also supreme in that :

"Ucathye vapuṣi yaḥ svarāḷuta" (8. 46. 28).

His beauty is white (śveta) :

" uta śvetam vasudhitim pireke " (7. 90. 3).
" Śvetaḥ śiṣakti niyutām abhiśrīḥ " (7. 91. 3).

Foremost of all the Gods he is Śucipā : he drinks the Soma juice most harmoniously, or enjoys it as an aesthetic experience.

The sun has beauty of his own. The Golden Savitar is a companion of Uṣas in Beauty. The Maruts are highly Beautiful. They are lovers of ornaments and they love Rodasī who is their Beloved. The Aśvins are the Aestheticians. They are lovers, and lovers of Beauty and of Love. They are the incarnation of Romance. Even Rudra and Varuṇa are said to be Beautiful. Rudra is compared to a youth, while Varuṇa embraces the nights : " Sakṣapaḥ pariṣasvaje. "

The picture of Uṣas is the most vividly drawn in Ṛgveda, and justice has been rendered by Oldenberg[1]. Uṣas is the prototype of all Beauty. Her characteristic activity is the exhibition or manifestation of her own Body (1. 92. 4. etc). The dawns are compared to warriors (Dhṛṣṇavaḥ), to dancers (Nṛtū), to the waves of the waters (apām na ūrmayaḥ), to the sacrificial posts (adhvareṣu svaravaḥ), to a group of cows (gavām na sargāḥ) and the like. Uṣas is the mother, sister and beloved of the Sun. Her smile is a classic by itself. She is the very incarnation of Beauty. She is Immortality itself. She is the daughter of Heavens, the great gateway to the City of God. She is the mother of the Universe, the profound awakener of Humanity. Humanity is her guest. She dances the magnificent dance of consciousness. She reveals the ' lāsya ' of Pārvatī as the classical literature represents ; and Pārvatī, we know, is the Śakti. She is, as Kālidāsa understood her correctly, the concept of Beauty.

In the treatment of the Beauty of Nature, the Ṛgvedic poets offer us " a general impression in which limitless expanse, brilliance, tumult, storm, activity, and victory flash and heave helter-skelter; all the separate phenomena of Nature unite to form the picture of a mighty artistically constructed whole[2] ". Here is

[1] Rūpam, 32. 116. Also see his Religion des Veda, p. 237.
[2] Oldenberg, Rūpam, 32, 118.

Oldenberg once again contradicting himself. Having refused to accept the vedic theory of Beauty in Man and in Nature, he concludes much against his will that there is a profound concept of Beauty. The concept of Beauty in Ṛgveda is really a 'mighty, artistically constructed whole'. It is a coherent system. It is the synthesis of the significant and the characteristic.

(xxiv)

The third stage in the Ṛgvedic concept of Beauty is the conviction of the seers regarding the Beauty in Fine Arts, in Poetry. They valued their compositions as profound, delicious, sweetest, sincere, spontaneous and so on[1]. The fondness for rich adornment has been kept under the strict control of the demands of Aesthetic Beauty. They speak of artistic polish and refinement, but only in the interest of the poetic thought and experience; for poetry is not simple carving out or fabricating (takṣ) a song. It is giving birth (jan) to a poem. More appropriately poetry is a creation (Śṛj-). At the same time it is under the stress of divine inspiration, in the spirit of Beauty that the seers compose[2]. To use Arnold's lines, the Ṛgvedic seers took Poetry to be a criticism of life fixed under the laws of Poetic Truth and Poetic Beauty.

The words of the poet have a splendour (Dyuti):

" Dadhāmi te dyumatīm vācam āsan " (10-98-2):
" Asme dhehi dyumatīm vācam āsan " (10-98-3):

They are variegted (citraḥ), pure (śuci), and lustrous (śukra). A well understood word is to them what a well dressed beloved is to her husband ':

" uto tvasmai tanvam vi sasre
Jāyeva patya uśatī suvāsāḥ " (10-71-4).

The words are, therefore, Jyotiragrāḥ :

" Tisro vācaḥ pra vada jyotir agrā
yā etad duhre madhudogham ūdhaḥ " (7-101-1).

They ate even Jyotīmṣi :

[1] See Proceedings AIOC (Benaras Session)

[2] See QJMS.

" Pra hotre pūrvyam vacognaye bharatā bṛhat
Vipām jyotīṃṣi bibhrate na vedhase " (3-10-5).

The hidden thoughts spontaneously advance and shine in effulgence :

" Guhā satīrupa tmanā pra yac chocanta dhītayaḥ
Kaṇvā ṛtasya dhārayā " (8-6-8).

And thought comprehends everything :

" Tuviśuṣma tuvikrato
Śacīvo viśvayā mate
ā paprātha mahitvanā " (8-68-2)

Another poet observes :

" kratūyanti kratavo hṛtsu dhītayo
venanti venāḥ patayanty ā diśaḥ
na marḍitā vidyate anya ebhyo
deveṣu me adhi kāmā ayansata " (10. 64. 2).

" The will and thoughts within my breast exert this power, yearn with love and fly to all the regions round. None other comforter is found save only these; my desires are fixed upon the gods. " The poet utters wise secret speeches, and charming words of wisdom :

" Tvam cinnaḥ śamyā agne asyā
ṛtasya bodhy ṛtacit svādhīḥ
Kadā ta ukthā sadhamādyāni
Kadā bhavanti sakhyā gṛhe te " (4. 3. 4).

He longs for advancement in wisdom (1. 138. 2). He speaks out his thought. This poetic thought is decked with Beauty—(Viśvapeśesam dhiyam) :

" Evā te hari yojanā suvṛkt
Indra brahmāṇi gotamāso akran
Eṣu viśva peśamam dhiyam dhāḥ
prātar makṣū dhiyāvasur jagamyāt " (1. 61. 16).

This decorative thought is śucipeśasam or ornamented because of its purity, because of its Spiritual Nature :

" Eti pra hotā vratam asya māyay-
ordhvām dadhānaḥ śucipeśam dhiyam " (1. 144. 1).

It is also Śukravarṇam :

" Indhāno akro vidatheṣu dīdayac
chukravarṇām uduno yansate dhiyam " (1. 143. 7).

And the words that translate this thought in terms of Beauty are 'pāvaka varṇāḥ śucayaḥ.' :

" Imā u tvā purūvaso giro vardhantu yā mama
pāvakavarṇāḥ śucayo vipaścito abhi stomair anūṣata "
(8. 3. 3).

Thus the Ṛgvedic seer first beheld Beauty in Nature and in Himself. The Human Being is Beautiful, and therefore, requires a Beautiful environment. He realised that the spiritual force exists behind and over and above Man and Nature, and that it is Beauty. The poetic songs are necessarily Beautiful since they are the result of divine inspiration. But the poetic experience cannot give us an immediate experience of Beauty, for it can only suggest. So the Ṛgvedic seer realised that the Poetic thought is Beautiful. In the last stage he realised that the highest representation of Beauty is Speechless Thought, while Poetry comes only next. By Speechless Thought he only meant that Thought or Reality is beyond the finite speech. Beauty speaks no language, no emotion. It is one of the highest experiences conducive to higher immediacy. Beauty is suggestive. Beauty alone can dispel 'Nīhāra' or ignorance that envelops the Finite-Infinite Individual because of its power of suggestion. This suggestion leads us to non-spatial and nontemporal experiences. Thus Beauty renders possible the Supra-relational and Supra-rational experience. And according to the Ṛgvedic seers too, Beauty alone can offer " an abiding satisfaction of an abiding self[1]. "

[1] T. H. Green : Prolegomena to Ethics.

THE SAUTRĀNTIKA THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE

BY

D. N. SHASTRI

Of the four Buddhist Philosophical schools noticed by the orthodox writers, the position of the Yogācāra and the Mādhyamika, the two schools belonging to Mahāyāna fold, although not fully appreciated, has been more or less correctly represented in the works of the orthodox writers. But the presentation of the two early Hīnayāna schools, the Vaibhāṣika and the Sautrāntika is not equally satisfactory. The usual description of the two schools found in the orthodox works like Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha and others which belong to the later part of the post-Buddhist period, i. e. the 14th century and onward, is to the effect that both of them are realists. While according to the Vaibhāṣika the external objects are directly perceived, the Sautrāntika holds that what is directly perceived is only our own idea having the form of the object, (sākārajñāna); but as the diversity of form in our ideas could only be caused by external objects, we infer the existence of the external objects on account of that diversity. "An object coming in contact with a sense produces a cognition to which the object transfers its form, and it is from this form of the object transferred to the cognition that the existence of that object is inferred[1]." The doctrine is called Nityānumeyabāhyārthavāda[2] i. e. a theory which holds that external objects are only inferable. This is also called Sākārajñānavāda,[3] i. e. a view that cognitions have forms, and it is the forms of the cognitions that are directly apprehended in our perception. A cognition is both, perception as well as the percept (grāhaka and grāhya[4]). It may be noted that

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[1] 'Indriyasannikṛṣṭasya viṣayasya utpādye jñāne svākārasamarpakatayā samarpitena cākāreṇa tasyārthasyānumeyatopapatteḥ' Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha. (Abhyankar edition), p. 36.

[2] Cf. Nyāyamañjarī (Chowkhamba) p. 15 — Nityānumeyabāhyārthavādī jñānaṁ kva dṛṣṭavān ".

[3] Ibid p. 15—" Arthastu sākārajñānavādino na samastyeva ". Also Tarkabhāṣā (Bombay S. Series) p. 79 'Sākārajñānavādanirākaraṇāt '.

[4] NM. p. 15-Ekameva sākāraṁ jñānaṁ grāhyaṁ grāhakaṁ ca '.

no other school of Indian thought except the Sautrāntika (to whom the theory is wrongly ascribed) subscribes to the theory of representationism. In other words while the Vaibhāṣika holds a presentationist view, the Sautrāntika's is the representationist theory which is quite similar to the view of Locke in the western thought.

The question now is : 'what is the Buddhist authority for ascription of this theory to the Sautrāntika school ? We know that this school was closely associated with the Vaibhāṣikas. Yaśomitra, the commentator on the Abhidharmakośa, which is a Vaibhāṣika work, was himself a Sautrāntika. The school, it appears, was a connecting link between the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna. Unfortunately the original works of the school are not extant, or, at any rate, not accessible as yet. But copious references to the doctrines of the school are scattered throughout the Buddhist literature. Most of the modern writers on the Buddhist period have ascribed, without questioning, the theory of representationism to the Sautrantika[1]. Prof. Stcherbatsky, however, does not agree with this ascription. He holds the view that " there is no great disagreement between the Vaibhāṣikas (Sarvāstivādins) and the Sautrāntikas on the interpretation of the origin of cognition[2]. " In a footnote in the same context he adds that "the information about the Sautrāntika theory of cognition (Bāhyārthānumeyatvavāda), contained in the Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha and similar works, reposes on a confusion by Brahmanical authors between Sautrāntika and Vijñānavāda, not seldom to be met with[3]. " The full implications of this cryptic note are not intelligible. It is not clear how confusion between the Sautrāntika and the Vijñānavāda could lead the Brahmanic writers to ascribe to the Sautrāntika the view that the external objects exist, independent of their cognitions, but they are not directly perceived and are only inferred. Does he mean that there was a school of Vijñānavāda, holding that kind of theory ?

A Probable explanation suggested

Nor can this problem be dismissed by merely saying that the orthodox writers were not fully conversant with that Buddhist

1 It is a surprise that amongst many others, a Buddhist scholar like Sogen Yamakami should have followed the suit, and should have unquestionably ascribed representationism to this school. (S. Yamakami : Systems of the Buddhist thought pp. 102-103).

2 Central Conception p. 63.

3 Central Conception p. 63 n5.

school, and that they committed an error, because there must be some basis even in committal of an error. Orthodox writers could, of course, misunderstand or misinterpret some Buddhist theories, but they could not, in ascribing a view to a Buddhist school, wholly draw upon their imagination. The following, in all probability, is the explanation of the ascription of the theory in question to the Sautrāntika school by the orthodox writers.

It is a well known fact that since his advent Diṅnāga held the day in Indian philosophy. So much obssessed with his views the orthodox writers were that one of them, the author of Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha, placed his theory of perception in the mouth of the Vaibhāṣika, because on closer examination it will be found that Vaibhāṣika's theory of perception as given in Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha is not of the school concerned, but that of the Diṅnāga School. That being so, it is no wonder if the orthodox writers ascribed a theory of Diṅnāga to the Sautrāntika school also. Diṅnāga probably belonged to a sort of composite Sautrāntika-Yogācāra school. According to the theory of Diṅnāga, the source of knowledge (pramāṇa) is of two kinds, because the reality it presents is also ot double character. The one kind of reality is transcendental, thing-in-itself (Paramārthasat), ultimate particular, (svalakṣaṇa), the point-instant (kṣaṇa) the direct (pratyakṣa); and the other is empirical, or phenomenal (samvṛttisat), constructed by imagination (Savikalpaka) and generalized (sāmānyalakṣaṇa), the indirect (parokṣa). The reality i. e. the scope of knowledge, being of two kinds, the knowledge is also of two kinds. Perception and Inference. The perception (pratyakṣa), the direct source of knowledge, cognizes only the direct reality, the ultimate particular (svalakṣaṇa). It can never cognize the indirect or constructed and generalized reality (sāmānyalakṣaṇa). It is called pure sensation (nirvikalpaka[1]), and, therefore, the ultimate particular (svalakṣaṇa) is grasped by it. It is free from the slightest tinge of imagination. The other source of knowledge, the inference (anumāna) which is indirect (parokṣa) cognises only the indirect (parokṣa) reality, the constructed and generalized (sāmānyalakṣaṇa). It can never

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[1] According to the Buddhist, only the pure sensation (Nirvikalpaka) is the true perception, and not the determinate knowledge (Savikalpaka) which also is regarded as true perception by the realist of the Nyāya school.

cognize the direct reality, the ultimate particular (svalakṣaṇa). The nature of the two kinds of reality being radically different, the two sources of knowledge (pratyakṣa and anumāna) are also radically different. The one cannot operate in the scope of the other. Hence according to the Buddhist theory the scope of the two sources of knowledge is separately marked[1]. On this point the Buddhist joins issue with the Nyāya according to which the different sources of knowledge (pramāṇas) overlap into the scope of one another[2]. The differentiation between direct and indirect knowledge, i. e. between perception and inference is the corner stone of the epistemology of Diṅnāga[3]. It will now be seen that the world of our experience which we call phenomenal or empirical world, consisting of external objects as they are presented in our experience is, according to Diṅnāga, beyond the purview of genuine perception by which only a pure sensation is meant. Determinate perception on which the realist school of the Nyāya builds his whole structure of realism[4], is a pseudo-perception in as much as the objects presented in it are mere constructions of imagination. If the determinate cognition is not perception, what else this cognition, which is characterized by generalization (sāmānya-lakṣaṇa), can be? Whatever is outside the purview of the

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[1] Pramāṇavyavasthā. [2] Pramāṇasaṁplava.

[3] With regard to the twofold nature of reality as well as the source of knowledge Diṅnāga says :—

Atra pramāṇaṁ dvividhameva. kutaścet, dvilakṣaṇaṁ prameyam, svasāmānyalakṣaṇābhyāṁ bhinnalakṣaṇaṁ prameyāntaram nāsti. — Pramāṇasamuccaya (Mysore) p. 4.

Ṭīkā of Devendrabuddhi adds :— Svalakṣaṇa-viṣayakaṁ pratyakṣameva, sāmānyalakṣaṇaviṣayakamanumānameva. Ibid p. 6.

Dharmakīrti pointed out in his Nyāyabindu in the following words :—

Tasya (Pratyakṣasya) viṣayaḥ svalakṣaṇaṁ-tadeva paramārthasat... anyat sāmānyalakṣaṇaṁ so 'numānasya viṣayaḥ (Last portion of the chapter 1).

Guṇaratna, has admirably brought out the radical difference in question :-

" Samyagjñānasya ca dvaividhyaṁ Pratyakṣaparokṣaviṣaya-dvaividhyādavaseyam. Yato 'tra pratyakṣa-viṣayādanyaḥ sarvo 'pi parokṣo viṣayaḥ ".

Tarkarahasyadīpikā, a commentary on Haribhadra's ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya (Asiatic Society, Cal.) p. 25.

For the further treatment of this problem see Stcherbatsky : Buddhist Logic vol. I p. 69.

[4] Cf. a pregnant remark of Jayanta: ' Naiyāyikānāṁ hi Savikalpapratyakṣa-mayāḥ Prāṇāḥ ' Nyāyamañjarī, Part I, p. 81.

pure sensation, belongs to the sphere of inference[1]. The Buddhist logicians, of course, do not call it an inference, but give to it the appellation as 'Savikalpaka' (constructed by imagination) which they hold to be erroneous. But taking the term inference in a broad sense as explained above, all determinate ideas, all the judgments and all discursive reasoning come under inference[2]. A close observation will reveal that the term 'Anumāna' (inference) has been used in two different senses in the Diṅnāga school. It is sometimes used in a broad sense, as explained above, when it means all judgment and intellection, all discursive thought, all cognitive process except pure sensation. When 'inference' is used in that broad sense, the determinate perception (savikalpaka pratyakṣa) of the realist will also be covered under it. But it is usually used in a narrower sense of the inference of pure logic, as when fire is inferred from smoke. In this narrow sense determinate perception will not be regarded as inference. A welcome light on this complicated matter has come from a new source, Hetubindu Ṭīkā by Arcaṭa[3]. In that work the author refers to an objection raised by Kumārila to the Buddhist theory of anumāna. The objection is to the effect that in the act of inference of fire from smoke, the smoke which is inferential mark (liṅga), being of generalized nature (sāmānyalakṣaṇa), is also grasped, according to the Buddhist, by an inference for which another inferential mark (liṅga) will be required, and there will, thus be a regress ad infinitum[4]. Arcaṭa replies to this objection by saying that the Buddhists do not hold that a universal or a

[1] See the quotation from Guṇaratna above p. 1?6, fn. 3.

[2] Prof. Stcherbatsky explains the fuller implication of the term 'Inference' in the logic of Diṅnāga thus :—

"What is cognized by the senses is never subject to cognition by inference, and what is cognized by inference can never be subject to cognition by the senses. When a fire is present in the ken and cognized by the sense of vision, for the realist it is a case of sense preception. When the same fire is beyond the ken, and its existence cognized only indirectly, because some smoke is being perceived, fire is cognized by inference. For the Buddhist there is in both cases a part cognised by the senses and a part cognized by inference. The latter term is in this case, a synonym of intellect, of a non-sensuous source of knowledge". Buddhist Logic vol. I p. 73.

[3] Published in G. O. S. Baroda.

[4] Śl. Var V 149-53.

generalized reality is grasped through inference alone ; because the determinated knowledge (vikalpa) which comes at the back of a pure sensation also apprehends a generalized reality or universal, and similarly in memory also we have a generalized or universal idea. What we really hold is that an inference apprehends a universal or generalized reality alone and never a particular. But, vice versa, we do not hold that a universalized reality is grasped by inference alone. It is also grasped by vikalpa[1] (imagination). This discussion clearly shows that in a broad sense a determinate cognition is included in the inference, and hence Kumārila's objection. However, if we take inference in a narrow sense (i. e. of pure logic where something is inferred from an inferential mark), a determinate cognition will not be included in the inference as Arcaṭa says in his reply.

It may be pointed out that a determinate cognition (savikalpaka) has been held to be invalid, while inference (of pure logic) is held to be valid knowledge (samyagjñāna). The distinction between determinate cognition (savikalpaka) and pure logical inference is this : In the former we move from svalakṣaṇa (particular-real) to Sāmānyalakṣaṇa (Universal-unreal), and hence it is erroneous. The logical inference, on the other hand, moves from sāmānyalakṣaṇa (universal or general) to svalakṣaṇa (particular). Fire, which is inferred, is a point instant capable of purposive action (arthakriyākārikṣaṇa). For this reason, inference is indirectly valid knowledge (pramāṇa). But taken directly, it is also erroneous (bhrānta). " This has been still more lucidly explained by Stcherbatsky at another place. He says :—

The originality of Diṅnāga's system of logic consists in the doctrine which admits two distinct sources of knowledge, two only. He calls them perception and inference, but they differ very widely from what is usually understood by these terms in logic and psychology ". " Every synthetic process of thought is contrasted with the direct cognition by the senses, as indirect cognition or

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[1] Tatra naivamavadhāryate sāmānyalakṣaṇaviṣayamanumānameveti, pratyakṣapṛṣṭhabhāvino vikalpasyāpi tadviṣayatvāt tadanyasya ca vikalpasya. Kintu sāmānyalakṣaṇaviṣayamevānumānamityavadhāryate svalakṣaṇaviṣayatvaniṣedhārthamiti : Hetubindu Tīkā p 23.

inference. Diṅnāga's inference thus embraces, besides our inference, all that we could call judgment, intellection, ideation, thought, reason etc., every cognitive process, except pure passive sensation ".[1]

In course of discussion why as to the qualification 'non-erroneous' (abhrānta) has been added to the definition of the perception, Dharmottara says that it excludes 'inference' which is " an illusion." The course which an inference takes consists in having to deal *prima facie* with mental contents of a general (unreal) character, and in ascertaining through them some real fact[2] ". Dharmottara has reiterated that unreality appears to the mind in an inference, because it consists in cognising an unreality as a kind of reality[3].

It has now been made amply clear that our emiprical world consisting of external objects, which according to the naive realist of the Nyāya school, is cognized by the determinate perception, is according to Diṅnāga constructed by our imagination and may be said to be cognized by inference used in its broad sense as explained above. It was, in all probability, in this sense that the Sautrāntika school to which Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti were supposed to belong was regarded as holding the view that external objects are not directly perceived but only inferred (Bāhyārthānumeyatvavāda). The later orthodox writers not realizing the real significance of the term 'inference' (anumāna) as understood in the school of Diṅnāga, interpreted the inference of external objects in the ordinary sense with which they were familiar, and made the Sautrāntika theory to appear as a simple representationist view and contrasted it with the presentationism of the Vaibhāṣika. It may, however, be pointed out that the theory of representationism which orthodox writers have ascribed to Sautrāntika and which is similar to that of Locke in the Western thought is, in reality, quite different from the

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1 Nirvāṇa, footnote 1, p. 141–142.

2 Bhrāntaṁ hyanumānaṁ, svapratibhāse 'narthe 'dhyavasāyenapravṛttatvāt' Nyāyabinduṭīkā p. 9.

The translation of this passage quoted within inverted commas is Stcherbatsky's. Buddhist Logic Vol. II. p. 17.

3 Anumānamapi svapratibhāse 'narthe'rthādhyavasāyena pravṛtteranarthagrāhi. Nyāyabinduṭīkā p. 16.

The Peterson's edition of N. B. T. reads 'anarthādhyavasāyena' in place of arthādhyavasāyena (as given here), For obvious reason, the former reading is wrong.

doctrine of Dinnāga in which Prof. Stcherbatsky has rightly discovered a close similarity with the transcendental idealism of Kant[1]. In a sense this theory is just the opposite of representationism. According to latter, the external world gives form to our thoughts, while according to former, it is our thought which gives form to the external world. But as detailed above, the orthodox writers of the later post-Buddhist period, i. e. belonging to the 14th century and onward misunderstood the doctrine of Dinnāga, and in the first instance they erroneously understood it to be a simple theory of representationism, and secondly they wrongly ascribed it to the Sautrāntika school. Whether the original school of the Sautrāntikas, i. e. without being influenced by the ideology of Dinnāga who came to the scene a good many centuries later, held any epistemological doctrine analogous to the theory of representationism is difficult to say in the present state of our knowledge.

[1] Comparison between Dinnāga and Kant has been discussed at some length in my thesis on 'The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Realism, and its conflict with the Buddhist Epistemology' (under preparation).

THE CARDINAL TENETS OF THE YOGA-VĀSIṢṬHA AND THEIR RELATION TO THE TRIKA SYSTEM OF KAŚMIRA

By

Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya

It has been the fashion to regard the *Y.-V.* professedly as a work of one particular full-fledged system of philosophy, as understood in the parlance of academic discussion; and this, many aver, is none other than the monistic Vedānta of the type, brand or denomination of Śaṁkara. The first part of this assertion does not receive any support from the text of the *Y.-V.* itself. The author, while encouraging the cultivation of a philosophic disposition which he likes to call *dṛṣṭi* (cfr. *diṭṭhi* of the earlier masters, particularly Buddhistic thinkers), has a mortal dread of *mithyādṛṣṭi vādas* (or theories)[1] broached and discussed in a mudslinging attitude (*apavādakara*) of *khaṇḍana* and *maṇḍana* (III. 96. 45-51). To regard the *Y.-V.* philosophical stuff as Śaṁkara Vedānta in essence is the height of boldness and effrontery unsupported by evidence. We are not speaking of the loose use of the term, by virtue of which any system of Indian thought is described to be Vedantic: such is the common practice in the West, particularly under the influence of Swami Vivekananda's teachings and speeches. It may be conceded that a fairly large portion of the *Y.-V.*, specially the Uttarārdha of the last section,

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1 *Y.-V.* III. 5. 4-6;

(सर्वदा सर्वकृत्सर्वः परमात्मा महेश्वरः ॥ ...)

Y.-V. V. 87. 18-21.

(यच्छून्यवादिनां शून्यं ब्रह्म ब्रह्मविदां वरम् । ... शिवः शशिकलाऽ-
ङ्कानां ... । आत्माऽऽत्मनस्तद्विदुषां नैरात्म्यं तादृशात्मनाम् । ... सर्वं तुस-
मचेतसाम् । ... यत्तत्सदसौ स्मृतः ॥

and Śaṁkarabhāṣya on the *Māṇḍūkyakārikā* of Gauḍapāda-Advaita-prakaraṇa v. 21)—

उपनिषद्व्याख्यातारो ब्रह्मवादिनो वावदूकाः ।) .

Cf. *Paramārthasāra*, kārikā 27.

presents affinities with this type of Vedāntic thought, but that the Uttarārdha is an accretion, not an integral part of the original, is crystal-clear from the many acknowledged abridgments and manuals based on it. Thu author, in a spirit of synthetic assimilation, has incorporated *anarsa* or *paurusa* views of unorthodox people (*paramata*) (III. 18. 2-9, 68-70) and takes pride in so doing. Moreover, occasionally he has his fling at the Vedāntins or Vedāntavādins, whom, like the author of the *Nyāyamañjarī*,[1] he takes to task for their extreme views, as he wants to be of detached and open mind (*susamacetas, samasamātman*). The Śaiva philosophy of Kashmir – the Trika system – poses as the embodiment of such an *advaita* view,— (शिवशक्तिसंघट्टात्मकपरत्रिकशास्त्र[illegible] *Tantrāloka* p. 107)—and not a little of the philosophical content of the *Y.-V.* is coloured with that ideology and presented in similar phraseology. It is a pity that while the Vedāntic exposition of the *Y.-V* has been prevalent from about the 14th century, the Śaivite interpretation as traceable in the commentary of Bhāskarakaṇṭha (who is almost contemporaneous with Ānandabodhendra, the first Vedāntic annotator), which presumably is based on older presentations, has not attracted the same attention or enjoyed the same popularity.

This will be clear from a reference to the salient points in *Y.-V.* thought, which do not readily conform to the Śaṁkara Vedānta pattern. The *Y.-V.* does not subscribe out and out to the view of the essential identity of the *jīvātman* and *paramātman* or to the *māyāvāda* dealing with the unreal character of the phenomenal world (*prapañca*). The *anirvācyatā* or *anuttaratā* of the *Y.-V.* which latter word is reminiscent of its Buddhistic (cf. Dhammapada II. 3) and Śaiva associations utilizes the same expression of

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[1] Ibid. (Benaras edition) p. 507.

वेदान्त्यभिमतमोक्षस्वरूपनिरासः । p. 508. तत्र वेदान्तवादिन

आहुः । [illegible] मोक्षः प्रेक्षावतां प्रयत्नभूमिर्भवितुमर्हति । p. 513.

तस्मान्न वेदान्तविदो विदन्ति मोक्षं न सांख्या न च सौगताद्याः ॥

For a fling at the Śaṁkara Vedānta in a Śaiva work (*Saṁvidullāsa*)—

[illegible]तमाख्यायते [illegible] पर्यवस्यति [illegible]

[illegible] । [illegible] कस्यापि [illegible]

[illegible] ॥

the upaniṣadic original as that of the Śaṁkarites, being different from that of the Vedāntin in as much as it rules out the category of the *one* ultimate principle to which all reality can be reduced; — the *vivartavāda* which is here broached emphasizes the *vānala* (compositeness) and the *sāmarasya* (homogeneity and similarity) of the *tat* and the *tvam* and does not entail the unreality of the appearance. It is difficult to conceive of the one as apart from or divested of the other[1] —just as it is difficult to conceive the solar orb apart from its fund of rays, the metal gold (*kanaka*) as apart from the bracelet (*keyūra*) or the wave (*taraṅga*) apart from its constituency of water (*salila*). The *anucitspandana* (with its littleness), the *śakti* in its comprehension and the essential reality (Śiva) form a triple principle (Trika) - and the *Y.-V.* in many texts harps on the same view and rules out the *mithyāgraha* (the obstinate clinging to falsehood) deflecting our ill-informed notions, and takes its stand on the *saṁvit* (conscious-

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1 *Y.-V.* VIa. 33. 3–5.

सर्वशक्तिं हि तद्ब्रह्म सदेकं विद्यते यदा ।
तदा निर्मूल एवायं द्वित्वैकत्वकलोदयः ॥ ३ ॥
सति द्वित्वे किलैकं स्यात्सत्येकत्वे द्विरूपता ।
कले द्वे अपि चिद्रूपे चिद्रूपत्वात्सदप्यसत् ॥ ४ ॥
एकभावादभावोऽत्र एकत्वद्वित्वयोर्द्वयोः ।
एकं विना न द्वितीयं न द्वितीयं विनैकता ॥ ५ ॥

The *Pratyabhijñāvimarśinī* (III. 1. 2) notes :—

तस्य भावस्तत्त्वम् अतिभिन्नानां वर्णानां वर्गीकरणनिमित्तं यदेकमविभक्तं भाति तत्तत्त्वम् ।

This is fundamentally the position of Bhartṛhari in the *Vākyapadīya* III. 1. 21, 22; III. 6. 28, 29, as well as of the Trika system. These Śaktis are real and *not avidyākalpita*, as in the strictly orthodox Śaṁkara exposition (vide *Śārīrakabhāṣya* II. 1. 14). Note the retort in the following exposition in a work of the Trika system :—

विवर्तो ह्यसत्यरूपावभासात्मेत्युक्तम् निर्भासते चासत्यं तत्कथमिति न विचित्रम् ? ... प्रतिबिम्बवादे स्वच्छतामात्रं संवेदनस्य न त्वसत्यमिति तत्स्वरूपे वस्त्वन्तरपर्येषणा कर्तव्या । अविद्याऽनिर्वाच्या वैचित्र्यं भासते इति व्याहतम् । पारमेश्वरी शक्तिरेवेयमिति हृदयार्थकः क्रमः । Vide the *Śivadṛṣṭi* III. 3 :— शिवः शक्तस्तथा भावानिच्छया कर्तुमीहिते । शक्तिशक्तिमतोर्भेदः शैवे जातु न वर्ण्यते ॥

ness), the ultimate reality and as such the integrated Supreme experience, *anākhya* (incapable of being described) which is the *per esse* of the Supreme Being (Paramaśiva), involving the idea of Advaya Īśvara, the main plank of the Advaitavāda in the Śaiva system. (Vide Appendix.-Citations).

This interconnection of the Śakti concept with the Śiva, which, in the language of the Śaiva system is *Śivaśaktisamāyoga* and is like that of the parental union, has given *Y.-V.*'s *ābhasavāda* (IV. 39.43-44), differently designated as *pratibimbavāda* (the view of the object and the image), or *kalpanāvāda* (Imaginary Determinism to render freely), a form of expression not uncommon in the text, a unique form. The *Y.-V.* like the Śaṁkara Vedānta believes in the *prātibhāsikasattā*, the appearance as reality of the world and relies on its *arthakāritva* (practical utility). It accounts for the variety and diversity on the score of the *sarvaśaktimayatva* of the Lord Śiva.[1] Over and above the *jñānaśakti*, *ānandaśakti* and *kriyāśakti*, He has the *svātantryaśakti* (self-determination) or *icchāśakti* or *icchāsattā*, which accounts for the creation and dissolution of the world.[2] The object is *svatantra*, not mixed (*avyāmiśra*) with other

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[1] *Y.-V.* VIa. 42. 23; *Y.-V.* IV. 44, 14.

अस्याः संसारमायाया एवं भूतार्थभावनात् ।
भेदोपशान्तावभ्यासाद्भवत्युपगतः शिवः ॥

Cfr. Mānasollāsa II. 48 for a parallel view :—

ईश्वरोऽनन्तशक्तित्वात्स्वतन्त्रोऽन्यानपेक्षकः ।
स्वेच्छामात्रेण सकलं सृजत्यवति हन्ति च ॥

Cfr. *Śivadṛṣṭi* of Somānanda (I-2) :

आत्मैव सर्वभावेषु स्फुरन्निर्वृतचिद्विभुः ।
अनिरुद्धेच्छाप्रसरः प्रसरद्दृक्क्रियः शिवः ॥

[2] **An emphatic exaltation of the *pauruṣa* is, it must be noted, not exactly the view of the *Y.-V.* e. g. VIa. 127, 38:—**

कृतं पुरुषकारेण केवलेन च कर्मणा ।

Vide *Viveka* on the *Tantrāloka* (p. 6) :—

तेन स्वातन्त्र्यशक्त्यैव युक्त इत्याञ्जसो विधिः ।

***Y.-V.* II. 7. 4 :—**

संवित्स्पन्दो मनःस्पन्द ऐन्द्रियस्पन्द एव च ।
एतानि पुरुषार्थस्य रूपाण्येभ्यः फलोदयः ॥

entities – the image is incapable of expressing itself, and while representing the object, exists along with and because of the object. The Śaiva system expresses this *sopāyaprakriya* in the language of the *Tantrāloka* and the *Tantrasāra* of Abhinavagupta frequently in terms of *pratibimbavāda* (which is found also in the *Y.–V.* III, 122, 51), while the *Y.–V.* indulges in the analogy of a protracted, dream-experience (*dirghasvapna*) with a lengthened *dirgha* as in the *Dhammapada*, and introduces the entities of *deśa*, *kāla* and *niyati* (regularity and uniformity) with their infinite variations of regions, hills, dales, cities and hamlets, the sufferings of different births – (which merits a special treatment as in the Bhūsuṇḍo–pākhyāna, VIa chaps. 14–27), a topic treated *ad nauseam* even in the Utpatti *prakaraṇa* the third section with its prolixity of *dṛṣṭāntas* (analogies) as in the narratives of Līlā, Sūcī, Aindra, Kṛtrimāhalyā (the fictitious Ahalyā, the wife of the sage Gautama), exactly on the lines dilated on in the Śaiva darśana (Vide Chaps. VI, VII, & VIII of the *Tantrāloka*).

Śiva and Śakti are indivisible and self-same. *Kriyāśakti* or Spanda residuum accounts for the emergence of the experience of the seer and the seen. In ultimate analysis all creation begins in and subsists through *spanda* or *nimeṣa*, to change the root (as in the *Aitareya Up.* passage, ch. V, 1:-

नान्यत्किंचन मिषत्

where Śaṁkara takes *nimeṣa* to be coterminous with all vyāpāras or functions. This is the very crux of the view; the process is self-ordained, as in the oft quoted line of the *Śvetāśvatara Up.*, VI, 8;

पराऽस्य शक्तिर्विविधैव श्रूयते स्वाभाविकी ज्ञानबलक्रिया च ।

or in the *Tattvasandoha*, a Śaiva digest यद्यमनुत्तरमूर्तिर्निजइच्छया निखिलं जगत् स्त्रष्टुम् । पस्पन्दे स स्पन्दः प्रथमं शिवतत्त्वमुच्यते तज्ज्ञैः ॥ Spanda in its connection with the vital breath accounts for the existence of life (VIa. 101, 54) ; in its connection with *logos* (*Śabdabrahma*), it is at the root of this *saṁsāra*, in its connection with *vāsanā* or *saṁskāra* it explains the propensity of *karman*, (III 4.8–9) which, in the view of *Y.–V.* is *puruṣa*, determined by its peculiar movements (*pauruṣa*) and predilections ; and, as in the Śaiva conception, in essence it is not different from the real self (Paramaśiva). *Y. V.* V. –2. 23rd [illegible] As a con-

sequence of[1] this, the attitude of the *Y.-V.* towards the *jñāna-karma-samuccayavāda*, as in the concept of the *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad*, is different from that of the Śaṁkara Vedāntin; - in spite of the ingenious pleadings of the later Vedāntic commentators, it is nothing strange that advocating the views of the *Karmayogin* and inculcating the mentality of the *Jīvanmukta* as in the *Bhagavadgītā* the *Y.-V.* cannot dismiss *Karman* as futile and is loath to regard it in the light of bondage and debasement as the Śaṁkara *advaitin* does. (*Vide.* VIa. 87. 16-26).

The theory of deliverance (*muktivāda*) and of its implications forms another landmark of the *Y.-V.* While subscribing unstintedly to the utility of *jñāna* (IV. 10.22), it emphasizes the aspect of *svarūpaprasthāna* (appearing in its own light), as in the Trika, and insists on *manolaya*, *amanībhāva*, or the deadening and dulling of the *citta*, as the inevitable prerequisite, (V. 74. 35-36) for it is patent that मनो ह्यात्मकं नाम नाटकं परिहृत्यति ।

The ideology and phraseology smack of an alien background of thought as if brought into line with the teachings of Gauḍapāda,-a synthetic way of approach which ushered in and played a great part in *groundwork of* shaping the Trika system. The implications of *samvit* or *svasaṁvedana* (V. 72. 21. 33, 34, 36, 37) and the adjustment (*sāmarasya, sanghaṭṭa*) of all issues involved read like a chapter taken from the Śaiva[2] works, where the *ātman* is of the

[1] *Y.-V.* I. 1. 7-8.

(उभाभ्यामेव पक्षाभ्यां ...)

Y.-V. VIa. 127, 45

द्विपद्धतेन येनैव कर्मणा बन्ध ईदृशः ।

सुपद्धतेन तेनैव मोक्षमाप्स्यसि पुत्रक ॥

also *Y.-V.* VIa. 88, 16-21.

[2] Cfr. *Tantrālokavivṛti*, p. 3

मोक्षो हि नाम नैवान्यः स्वरूपप्रथनं हि सः ।

स्वरूपं चात्मनः संवित् ... ।

In *Y.-V.* VI b. chap. 38 where the Śaiva inspiration is traceable as in the original work and which ends with the concept of *citradīpa*, a phrase found in the original and since popularised declares :—

निर्वासना निष्कलना शान्ता पुष्पतामस्तु ते ।

शा[illegible] बाह्या [illegible] ॥

nature of Śiva, not contracted and hedged in by limitations, inherent and hereditary. From this standpoint, *bandha* and *mokṣa* are imaginary. (III. 100. 37-43). It is in determined character (*vāsanā*) and self-regulation that the key to all problems lies. The nullifying or the deadening efforts of the senses (*karaṇagrāma*), consummating in the attitude towards material pleasures is the ultimate goal - the Śaiva *pada* (VI[a]. 127. 6) : and the aids are means that involve the harmonious adjustment of *karman* and *jñāna* (VI[a]. 128. 44-48).

This insistence on an adjusted frame of mind (*susamacittata*) and its consequent indifference towards bliss or pleasure (*sukha*) even, mark out the reaction (*vaimukhya*) of the *Y.-V.* to the Vedāntic conception of *mokṣa*, so much so that in certain passages it reads like a recapitulation of the view presented in certain polemical works like the *Nyāyamañjarī*. Considered in that light, *mokṣa* appertains none the less to the domain of volition than to that of cognition, and the *Y.-V.* in and throughout its lengthy discourses has this objective in view. It is, therefore not the *svarūpa* of *mukti* that matters, but the consideration of the obstacles (*āmaya*) that lie in its way. In its detailed treatment of those obstacles which are designated as in the Śaiva system, *malas*, not perhaps unmixed with the primitive connotation of that term in the shape of physical impurity, [1] (cfr. *malavaggo* in the *Dhammapada*), as a few passages bear out, of the *puryaṣṭaka* (in its varied interpretations, including that in the Śaiva *āgama*), and incidentally in its reference to the thirty-six *padas* or *tattvas* (cfr. e. g. VIa. 39. 15)

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[1] *Dhammapada* XVIII, 2, 5, 8, 9, 17 : In *Y.-V.* VIa. 41, 6-7 we read :—

अविद्यां अंहयाऽयेष्ठां क्षालयन्निह तिष्ठति ।
मलं म[illegible]रजको यथा ॥
काकतालीयवत्स्वाद्विद्याक्षय आगते ।
प्रपश्यत्यात्मनैवात्मा स्वभावस्यैव निश्चयः ॥

That view is reminiscent of the *Pratyabhijñā* creed. (प्रपश्यति = recognises). The Śaiva position is stated thus :—

मलश्चावारको माया भावोपादानकारणम् ।
कर्म स्यात्सहकार्येव सुखदुःखोद्भवं प्रति ॥

A more general statement as in *Tantrasāra* (p. 5) is

अज्ञानं किल बन्धहेतुरुदितः शास्त्रे मलं तत्स्मृतम् ।

of the system, the *Y.-V.* reveals unmistakably its affiliation to the Trika. The *yoga*, necessary for the purpose of eradicating the *malas* in their threefold division of that system, which aptly gives the name to the work, is what is formulated in the well-known verse:—

योगो नान्यः क्रिया नान्या तत्त्वारूढा हि या मतिः ।
स्वचित्तवासनाशान्त्यै सा क्रियेत्यभिधीयते ॥

The *tattva* here is *the tattva* of the Śaivas - the *Sāmarasya* or adjustment. It is on the cultivation of a frame of mind (*a kriyā*) that the ultimate problem of life thus lies.

The *Bhagavadgītā* has resorted to a similar mode of expression and claims itself to be a Yogaśāstra. The obstacles in the way of such a frame of mind there too find specific mention and it is significant that these *kaluṣas* or *upadravas* are comprehensively discussed in the Kashmir recension of the text, which Abhinavagupta embodies and comments on in his commentary after III. 37 (काम एषः)— The extra verses are :—

भवत्येष कथं कृष्ण कथं चैव विवर्धते ।
किमात्मकः किमाचारस्तन्ममाचक्ष्व पृच्छतः ॥
श्रीभगवानुवाच —
एष सूक्ष्मः परः शत्रुर्देहिनामिन्द्रियैः सह ।
सुखतन्त्र इवासीनो मोहयन् पार्थ तिष्ठति ॥
कामक्रोधमयो घोरः स्तम्भहर्षसमुद्भवः ।
अहंकारोऽभिमानात्मा दुस्तरः पापकर्मभिः ॥
हर्षमस्य निवर्त्यैष शोकमस्य ददाति च ।
भयं चास्य करोत्येष मोहयंस्तु मुहुर्मुहुः ॥
स एष कलुषः क्षुद्रश्छिद्रप्रेक्षी धनंजय ।
रजःप्रवृत्तो मोहात्मा मानुषाणामुपद्रवः ॥

(N. S. edn. n. p. 175)

These verses bring out the Śaiva standpoint and their potency incidentally establishes the Śaiva thinker's preference for his system. His assertion स्वं तत्त्वं शिवनामकम् (VIa. 41.24) at once establishes the thinker to be of Śaiva denomination. Abhinava's note

एष तावत् सूक्ष्म उत्पत्तिसमयेऽलक्ष्य इन्द्रियेष्वेवं च वर्तमानः
सुखं तन्त्रयितुमिवोत्पद्यते । वस्तुतस्तु दुःखमोहमयस्तामसत्वात् ।

hints at the delusive and abstruse nature as much of *mukti* as of these *malas* of the three types (*āṇava-kāma-kārma* [*kārmaṇa* ?),

described as *malatraya* (*Y.* - *V.* VIa. 128. 60) and traceable to *vāsanā* or predestinating impressions.

In the emotional aspect the *Y.*-*V.* insists on its representation of *ātmārcana* or contemplation (worship of self) as the inseparable concomitant of spiritual life (VI^a. 127. 33^{ab}). This is what we may term the theistic bias as different from an agnostic approach not at all indiscernible in the orthodox *advaitavāda*. In chap. 35-48 of the last section we have the *bāhya* and *mānasa* forms of *pūjā* (worship) differentiated and the nature of the deity investigated on the lines of the Spandaśāstra or as in the *Paramārthasāra*, a handy and lucid exposition of the system. Utpaladeva,[1] the Śaiva philosopher, is ecstatic over the utility of the worship of the Lord Śiva, the *Śānta*, (*Paramātman*), that, in the *Y.*-*V.*, is regarded as the culmination of the adored (*pūjyastmān:a*). It is noteworthy that the important abridgments not excluding the *Y.*-*V.* *sāra* in its ten sections, included *ātmārcana* which is synchronous with an idealising of the Lord Supreme, i. e. Śiva. In its exoteric side (*bāhyapūjana*) the worship of the Lord is as much efficacious as that of the *aśvamedha yajña* highly applauded in orthodox ritualism. In its esoteric aspect, it is that of the soul, the lord of the *śarīra* (*śarīranāyaka*), the symbol of the *saṁvit* illumining our personality (*svadehasamvidābhāsa*). The body is, in the Śaiva terminology, the house of the deity (*devagṛha*), and it is in a strain of idealizing the real or realizing the ideal that this affair has been conceived and introduced. As in the Śaiva school, there is a fling in the *Y.*-*V.* too at the Vaiṣṇava brand of *bhakti*[2] and self-surrender, which it is held fails to achieve the highest end.

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[1] Utpaladeva—

अहो साधुतमः कोऽपि शिवपूजामहोत्सवः ।
षट्त्रिंशतोऽपि तत्त्वानां सीमा यत्रोल्लसत्यलम् ॥

and the *Viveka* on the *Tantrāloka* I. 21

हृदयं शास्त्रात्मसतत्त्वं महेश्वरस्य पूजनम् ।

[2] *Tantrasāra* p. 124

वैष्णवादीनां तु राजानुग्रहवन्न मोक्षान्तता ।

Cfr. the rather peculiarly virulent attack in *Y.*-*V.* V. 43, 20-29 in a pose of optimistic seriousness :—

शास्त्रयत्नविचारेभ्यो मूर्खाणां प्रपलायिनाम् ।
कल्पिता वैष्णवी भक्तिः ... ... ।
... विचारोपशमाभ्यां च मुक्त्याऽजकरेण किम् ॥

The *dīkṣā* (spiritual initiation), which coincides with the Parameśvara-*śaktipāta*, in its unique manner represents what may be regarded as the supernatural and supersensuous sequel of Kashmir Śaivism, its Tantra adjunct and looms large in the classic treatises thereof. (*e. g. Tantrāloka* chps. XI-XX). The *Y.-V.* occasionally refers to this theory of grace *maheśānugraha* and regards it as the rightful outcome of *śraddhā* to gods and superiors, which include siddha *kulas* and *gurus*. (तस्मात कुलाद्दृते नान्यत् संसारोद्धरणं प्रति । (*Tantrāloka* p. 247). These are but the steps to *ātmajñāna* (VI[a]. 41. 13-16). No amount of attainments can make amends for this – for one gets his dues (*prāptavya*) only through the grace of the Lord. The highest type of knowledge can only come through *Śaktipāta*,[1] which is intensified through *vairāgya*, *viveka*, *devapūjā* and the like. The Lord as Bhairava dispenses protection to the panic-striken (*bhīru*) people, if they flock to Him. Etymologically as in all reality He is theirs (VI[a]. 29. 107-112). It is attendance on the lotus-feet of the *guru* that secures knowledge and finally emancipation – and not asceticism, gifts and visits to pilgrimages, which are at best *anupāyas*, i. e. plausible but not the very best means in the Trika sense of the work (II. 10. 22). The *guru* as the *deśika*, *ācārya*, *dīkṣaka*, or *cumbaka* ensures *jñāna* – but a *guru* of the right type like Vaśiṣṭha comes through exceptional luck. (गुरुत्वं शक्तिपातेन तत्क्षणादेव दर्शितम् VI[a]. 128. 60).

It is the attainment and the earnestness of the *śiṣya* that are the root of enlightenment (VIa. 128. 63). The *Jīvanmukta* – (मुमुक्षुः) – the Sādhaka par excellence, is the model of the *Y. - V.* as of the *Bhagavadgītā*, and this accounts for its practical value and general appeal as a thought-provoking classic. The Śaiva darśana teachers instead of pitching their aims too high, tried to come down to the level of the common man, and some of them (e. g. Abhinavagupta in his Śaiva redaction of the short manual *Paramārthasāra* in kārikās 61-73) have dilated on the characteristics of the

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1 *Y.-V.* VIa. 127, 4, 38, 58. The funny attempts at escaping from this undisguised Śaiva affiliation of the work are noticeable in Ānandabodhendra's gloss on the first of these verses.

Vide *Tantrasāra*, chap. XI. pp. 117-120.

Jīvanmukta, or the *Bhinnājñānagranthi*, or the *jñānāgnidagdha-karman* in the language of the *Bhagavadgītā*. It is the *yoga* regimen of the *Y*. - *V*. that is eminently suitable for preparing such aspirants. As Sureśvara puts it :

योगाभ्यासवशायेन मनो निर्विषयं कृतम् ।
निर्वृतः स पुमान् सद्यो जीवन्मुक्तो भविष्यति ॥

The well-known passages like I. 18. 19-35 (नेहं देवगृहं मम), [1], III. 8. 19-25 (तद्रूपं परमात्मनः), III. 9, 4-13 (जीवन्मुक्तः स उच्यते), V. 36, 24-26; 77-79 (नमो मह्यम्...), and V. 50, 55-63 (चेतो गच्छति शान्तताम्) are high-class homilies on various subjects with a characteristic flair which is hard to imitate.

Below is appended a collection of representative citations which, in the experienced and motivated manner of the teacher-summarizer, the *Y*. - *V*. presents to its readers in long extracts bearing on the theme.

Cfr. *Paramārthasāra*, kārikā 74.

षट्त्रिंशत्तत्त्वभृतं विग्रहरचनागवाक्षपरिपूर्णम् ।
निजमन्यदथ शरीरं घटादि वा तस्य देवगृहम् ॥

See representative citations Via. 38, 5.

Appendix

Representative connected citations:

III. 1. इदं प्रकरणार्थं त्वं संक्षेपाच्छृणु राघव ॥ ९
यदिदं दृश्यते सर्वं जगत्स्थावरजंगमम् ।
तत्सुषुप्ताविव स्वप्नः कल्पान्ते प्रविनश्यति ॥ १०

ततः स्तिमितगम्भीरं न तेजो न तमस्ततम् ।
अनाख्यमनभिव्यक्तं यत्किञ्चिदवशिष्यते ॥ ११

ऋतमात्मा परब्रह्म सत्यमित्यादिका बुधैः ।
कल्पिता व्यवहारार्थं तस्य संज्ञा महात्मनः ॥ १२

स तथाभूत एवात्मा स्वयमन्य इवोल्लसन् ।
जीवतामुपयातीव भाविनाम्ना कदर्थिताम् ॥ १३

ततः स जीवशब्दार्थकलनाकुलतां गतः ।
मनो भवति भूतात्मा मननान्मन्थरीभवन् ॥ १४

मनः संपद्यते तेन महतः परमात्मनः ।
सुस्थिरादस्थिराकारस्तरङ्ग इव वारिधेः ॥ १५

तत्स्वयं स्वैरमेवाशु संकल्पयति नित्यशः ।
तेनेत्थमिन्द्रजालश्रीविवर्तेयं वितन्यते ॥ १६

यथा कटकशब्दार्थः पृथक्त्वार्हो न काञ्चनात् ।
न हेम कटकात्तद्वज्जगच्छब्दार्थता परे ॥ १७

सती वाऽप्यसती तापनद्येव लहरी चला ।
मनसेहेन्द्रजालश्रीर्जागती प्रवितन्यते ॥ १९

अविद्या संसृतिर्बन्धो माया मोहो महत्तमः ।
कल्पितानीति नामानि यस्याः सकलवेदिभिः ॥ २०

द्रष्टुर्दृश्यस्य सत्ताङ्ग बन्ध इत्यभिधीयते ।
द्रष्टा दृश्यबलाद्बद्धो दृश्याभावे विमुच्यते ॥ २२

आलीनवल्लरीरूपं यथा [illegible]कोटरे ।
आस्ते कमलिनीबीजं तथा द्रष्टरि दृश्यधीः ॥ ४२

यथाङ्कुरोऽन्तर्बीजस्य संस्थितो देशकालतः ।
करोति भासुरं देहं तनोत्येवं हि दृश्यधीः ॥ ४७

द्रष्टस्य हृद्येव चमत्कृतिर्यथा सदोदिताऽस्त्यस्तमितोज्झितोदरे ।
द्रष्टस्य चिन्मात्रशरीरिणस्तथा स्वभावभूताऽस्त्युदरे जगत्स्थितिः॥ ४९

V. 8. अथ शुश्राव कस्मिंश्चित्तमालवनगुल्मके ।
सिद्धानामप्रदृश्यानां स्वप्रसङ्गादुदाहृताः ॥ ७
विविक्तवासिनां नित्यं शैलकन्दरचारिणाम् ।
इमाः कमलपत्राक्ष गीता गीतात्मभावनाः ॥ ८

सिद्धा ऊचुः ।

द्रष्टृदृश्यसमायोगात्प्रत्ययानन्दनिश्चयः ।
यस्तं स्वमात्मतत्त्वोत्थं निःस्पन्दं समुपास्महे ॥ ९

(the Śaivadarśana)

अन्ये ऊचुः ।

दृष्टदर्शनदृश्यानि त्यक्त्वा वासनया सह ।
दर्शनप्रथमाभासमात्मानं समुपास्महे ॥ १०

(the Aupaniṣada darśana)

अन्ये ऊचुः ।

द्वयोर्मध्यगतं नित्यमस्ति नास्तीति पक्षयोः ।
प्रकाशनं प्रकाश्यानामात्मानं समुपास्महे ॥ ११

(the Mādhyamika view)

अन्ये ऊचुः ।

यस्मिन्सर्वं यस्य सर्वं यतः सर्वं यस्मादिदम् (?) ।
येन सर्वं यद्धि सर्वं तत्सत्यं समुपास्महे ॥ १२

(the Sarvāstivāda view)

अन्ये ऊचुः ।

अशिरस्कं हकारान्तमशेषाकारसंस्थितम् ।
अजस्रमुच्चरन्तं स्वं तमात्मानमुपास्महे ॥ १३

(the Agami's or Śābdika view)

अन्ये ऊचुः ।

संत्यज्य हृद्गुहेशानं देवमन्यं प्रयान्ति ये ।
ते रत्नमभिवाञ्छन्ति त्यक्तहस्तस्थकौस्तुभाः ॥ १४

(the Bhāgavata view)

अन्ये ऊचुः ।

सर्वाशाः किल संत्यज्य फलमेतदवाप्यते ।
येनाशाविषवल्लीनां मूलमाला विलूयते ॥ १५

(the view of the Sannyāsins or Asangavādins)

अन्ये ऊचुः ।

बुद्ध्वाऽप्यत्यन्तवैरस्यं यः पदार्थेषु दुर्मतिः ।
बध्नाति भावनां भूयो नरो नासौ स गर्दभः ॥ १६

(the Māyāvādin)

अन्ये ऊचुः ।

उत्थितानुत्थितानेतानिन्द्रियादीन्पुनः पुनः ।
हन्याद्विवेकदण्डेन वज्रेणेव हरिर्गिरीन् ॥ १७

(the Vajrayāna view)

अन्ये ऊचुः ।

उपशमसुखमाहरेत्पवित्रं सुशमवतः शममेति साधु चेतः ।
प्रशमितमनसः स्वके स्वरूपे भवति सुखे स्थितिरुत्तमे चिराय ॥ १८

(the Yoga view)

V. 50. एवमेषाऽतिविततता दुर्ज्ञाना रघुनन्दन ।
महामोहमयी माया विषमा पारमात्मिकी ॥ १

अस्य संसाररूपस्य मायाचक्रस्य राघव ।
चित्तं विद्धि महानाभिं भ्रमतो भ्रमदायिनः ॥ ६ ॥

चित्ताक्रमणमात्रात्तु परमादौषधादृते ।
प्रयत्नेनापि संसारमहारोगो न शाम्यति ॥ १२

चेतनं चित्तरिक्तं हि प्रत्यक्चैतन्यमुच्यते ।
निर्मनस्कस्वभावं तत्र तत्र कलनामलः ॥ २१

सा सत्यता सा शिवता साऽवस्था पारमात्मिकी ।
सर्वज्ञता सा सा दृष्टिर्न तु यत्र मनः क्षतम् ॥ २२

मलं संवेद्यमुत्सृज्य मनो निर्गलयन् परम् ।
आशापाशमलं छित्त्वा स्वसंवित्तिपरो भव ॥ ३८

VIa. 38. पूजाक्रमेषु सर्वेषु देहगेहं पवित्रकम् ।
त्याज्यं (ग्राह्यं ?) देहावबोधात्म परं यत्नात्पवित्रकम् ॥ ५

पूजनं ध्यानमेवान्तर्नान्यदस्त्यस्य पूजनम् ।
तस्मात् त्रिभुवनाधारं नित्यं ध्यानेन पूजयेत् ॥ ६

ब्रह्मेन्द्रहरिरुद्रेशप्रमुखामरमण्डितम् ।
इमां भूतश्रियं तस्य रोमालिं प्रविचिन्तयेत् ॥ ११-१२
(The Rudras are separate group-deities in the Śaiva enumeration)

विविधारम्भकारिण्यस्त्रिजगद्यन्त्ररज्जवः ।
इच्छाद्याः शक्तयस्तस्य चिन्तनीयाः शरीरगाः ॥ १२-१३

एष देवः स परमः पूज्य एष सदा सताम् ।
चिन्मात्रमनुभूत्यात्मा सर्वगः सर्वसंश्रयः ॥ १३-१४

स्वसंविदात्मा देवोऽयं नोपहारेण पूज्यते ॥ २२ ॥

न दीपेन न धूपेन न पुष्पविभवार्पणैः ॥
नान्नपानादिदानेन न चन्दनविलेपनैः ॥ २३ ॥

नित्यमक्लेशलभ्येन शीतलेनाविनाशिना ॥
एकेनैवामृतेनैष बोधेन स्वेन पूज्यते ॥ २४-२५ ॥

एतदेव परं ध्यानं पूजैषैव परा स्मृता ।
यदनारतमन्तःस्थशुद्धचिन्मात्रवेदनम् ॥ २५-२६ ॥

VIa. 114. आदित्यव्यतिरेकेण यो भावयति राघव ।
रश्मिजालमिदं ह्येतत्तस्यान्यादिव भास्वतः ॥ ४ ॥

कनकव्यतिरेकेण केयूरं येन भावितम् ।
केयूरमेव तत्तस्य न तस्य कनकं हि तत् ॥ ५ ॥

आदित्याव्यतिरेकेण रश्मयो येन भाविताः ।
आदित्य एव ते तस्य निर्विकल्पः स उच्यते ॥ ६ ॥

कनकाव्यतिरेकेण केयूरं येन भाव्यते ।
कनकैकमहाबुद्धिर्निर्विकल्पः स उच्यते ॥ ९ ॥

स्वयमेवात्मनैवात्मा शक्तिं संकल्पनामिकाम् ।
यदा करोति स्फुरितां स्पन्दशक्तिमिवानिलः ॥ १५ ॥
तदा पृथगिवाभासं संकल्पकलनामयम् ।
मनो भवति विश्वात्मा भावयन्स्वाकृतिं स्वयम् ॥ १६ ॥
सङ्कल्पमयमेवेदं जगदाभाति दृश्यते ।
न सत्यं न च मिथ्यैव स्वप्नजालमिवोत्थितम् ॥ २० ॥

संविदेवेदमखिलं जगन्नान्याऽस्ति कल्पना ।
संवित्स्फुरणमात्रेऽस्मिञ्जगज्जालकनामनि ॥ २८ ॥
इदमन्यदिदं चान्यदिति मिथ्याग्रहः कुतः ।
संभवादखिलाकारेष्वेकस्या एव संविदः ।
संवेद्यमपि नास्त्येव बन्धमोक्षावतः कथम् ॥ २९ ॥

HISTORY OF WAX-CANDLES IN INDIA

(A. D. 1500-1900)

BY

P. K. GODE

The history of the Indian technical arts and sciences is shrouded in mystery, though it would be possible to clarify it considerably on the strength of Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit sources. During the last ten years I have published several papers[1] dealing with a few problems connected with the cultural history of India which includes the history of Indian technical arts and sciences.

The history of Lighting and Lighting Appliances in Ancien and Mediaeval India, if studied in detail, would prove a fascinating study for any lover of Indian culture. I have collected some material on this topic but it would take a long time to release it, in the meanwhile I have thought it advisable to write some notes on stray topics connected with this subject. Accordingly I have published a paper[2] on the references to Persian oil (*pārasīka taila* or *Turuṣka taila*) in Sanskrit sources (between c. A. D. 500 and 1100). According to the evidence recorded in this paper it appears that some sort of crude Persian oil or Kerosine oil was used as lamp-oil in Northern India some time between A. D. 500 and 1100. While I was writing this paper a friend of mine asked me to write on the *history of Candles in India.* I lost no time in studying this problem and collecting evidence on it. I have great pleasure in recording below this evidence, howsoever scanty it might be.

1 See *Bibliography* of my writings (1916-1946) published by me in 1947. The *subject-index* (pp. 38-39) of this *Bibliography* records all my papers on *Indian Culture* and *Vijñāna* (technical arts and sciences). Some more papers on these subjects have been published since the *Bibliography* was published.

2 See *Journal of the Kaliṅga Historical Society*, Balangir (Orissa), Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 15-17.

In the article on "Candle" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*[1] we get some historical information about Candle. I note some points from this information :—

(1) *Candle* is a rod of fatty or waxy material through the centre of which runs a fibrous wick.

(2) Modern Candles are the successors of the early *rush-lights* which consisted of the pith of rushes soaked in house-hold grease.

(3) An improvement was made later by dipping cotton threads[2] in melted tallow. By alternate dipping and cooling the desired thickness was obtained. These "*tallow-dips*" were one of the most ancient forms of illuminant and they continued to be a house-industry for centuries.

(4) In Paris in the *13th century* A. D. there was a guild of travelling *candle-makers* who went from house to house making candles.

(5) *Bees-wax* candles have been used from early times and are mentioned by the Roman writers. For mystical reasons the Catholic Church prescribes *bees-wax* candles for Mass and other liturgical functions.

(6) *Spermaceti*, a white crystalline wax obtained from the head cavity of the sperm or "right" whale came into use in the latter half of the 18th century. Owing to its extreme brittleness spermaceti requires to be mixed with a small proportion of other material such as bees-wax.

(7) *Modern-candles* are made of paraffin wax (introduced about *A. D. 1854*) or stearine or mixtures of these.

As the use of candle is closely connected with the *candle-stick* the following points from the article on *candle-stick* in the *Encyclo-Britannica* (Vol. 4, p. 740) are note-worthy :—

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[1] Vide pp. 738 of Vol. 4 of 14th edition (1929).

[2] In ancient India the use of animal fats for feeding lamps was prohibited by the *Dharmaśāstra* texts. The practice of dipping twisted rags (forming a sort of wick or torch) in oil and then lighting them appears to have been current in mediaeval India. The term for this illuminant used in Marathi is "का(कां)कडा" (Vide *Śabdakośa* by Karve and Date, Vol. II, 1933, p. 652). Series of such wicks dipped in oil or ghee and kept in a tray were lighted and waved before a temple image or house-hold gods at dawn. They were known as "काकडा-आरती" (See *Śabdakośa* ibid)

(1) The history of candle-sticks deals with those of the Church. Moses was commanded to make a candle-stick for the tabernacle, of hammered gold, a talent in weight, and consisting of a base with a shaft rising out of it and six arms and with seven lamps supported on the summits of the six arms and central shaft. When Solomon built the temple he placed in it ten gold candle-sticks, five on the north and five on the south side of the holy place.

(2) After the Babylonish captivity the golden stick was again placed in the temple as it had been before in the tabernacle by Moses. On the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus it was carried with other spoils to Rome.

(3) Representations of the *seven-branched candle-stick* occur on the arch of Titus at Rome and on antiquities found in the catacombs at Rome.

(4) The *primitive form of candle-stick* was a torch made of slips of bark, vine tendrils, or wood dipped in *wax* or *tallow*, tied together and held in the hand by the lower end, such as are frequently figured on ancient painted vases. The next step was to attach to them a cup (discus) to catch the dripping wax or tallow.

(5) During *11th and 12th centuries* A. D. a certain amount of ornamentation appeared.

(6) Previous to the 17th century, *iron*, *latten*, *bronze*, and *copper* were used for making candle-sticks. Thenceforward silver came to be used. In more modern periods, Sheffield plate, silver plate and China became very popular.

(7) The golden age of the candle-stick lasted from the 3rd quarter of the 17th century to the end of the 18th.

(8) The history of candle-stick shows an increasing tendency towards simplicity.

The foregoing remarks on the history of *candle*[1] and *candle-stick* contain no reference to the use of candles in India.

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1 Vide p. 207 of *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable* by E. C. Brewer, London, 1913 — Brewer makes interesting remarks on *Candle* and allied terminology and its usages. I note some points from these remarks :- (1) It was an ancient custom of presenting on January 6th a candle of various colours to three kings

(continued on the following page)

Before recording my evidence about the history of candles in India I must point out that the Hindu *Dharmaśāstra* texts prohibit the use of any kind of animal fat or grease for feeding lamps and consequently any kinds of candles, in which such fat or grease was used, were not likely to have found favour with the orthodox Hindus of ancient and mediaeval India. In the *Dānakhaṇḍa* of the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* (*Bib. Ind.*) Vol. I, Calcutta, 1873, p. 945 we find Hemādri (c. A. D. 1260) quoting an extract from the *Viṣṇudharmottara* on the topic of *dīpa-dāna* or gift of lamps to deities etc. This extract states :—

" घृतेन दीपा दातव्यास्तैलैर्वा यदुनन्दन ।
वसामज्जादिभिर्दीपा न तु देयाः कथञ्चन ॥ "

Only *ghee* and *oil of sesamum* were to be used for sacred lamps. No kind of fat or *marrow* of the bones and flesh of animals was to be used for these lamps. The extract further states :—

" प्राणिजां नीलरक्तां च दीपवर्तिं च वर्जयेत् ।
विशेषेण च कर्तव्या पद्मसूत्रभवा नृप ॥ "

The wick of the lamp was to be made of lotus threads or fibres. One should avoid the use of any animal product in making this wick. [1]

(*continued from the previous page*)

of Cologne. (2) It was the practice of Roman Catholics to burn candles before the image of a favourite Saint, carry them in procession and place them on their altars. (3) *Selling by candle* was a kind of auction. (4) Candles used by Roman Catholics at funerals are the relic of an ancient Roman Custom. (5) Practice of holding a candle in the Catholic Church for the reader. (6) Shakespeare calls stars as "Candles of the night" (*Merchant of Venice*, V, 1). (7) *Candlemas Day*-feast of the purification of Virgin Mary on *Feb. 2*. Candle procession — Candles Symbolize Jesus Christ. (8) It was the old Roman Custom of burning candles to the goddess *Februa*, mother of Mars, to scare away evil spirits.

[1] Mitramiśra (A. D. 1600-1650) in the *Lakṣaṇaprakāśa* of his *Vīramitrodaya* (Chowkhamba Sans. Series, Benares, 1916, pp. 650-652) quotes some earlier works which describe the following lighting utensils and appliances:—

(1) दीपपात्र (extracts from वैखानसग्रन्थ and सिद्धान्तशेखर).
(2) दीपमाला (extract from सिद्धान्तशेखर).
(3) दीपाधार (extract from सिद्धान्तशेखर).
(4) दीपिका (extract from वैखानसग्रन्थ).
(5) मणिराजनपात्र (extracts from सिद्धान्तशेखर and वैखानसग्रन्थ).

There is no reference in the several extracts quoted to any kind of *Candle* or *Candle-stick*.

In the history of the candle recorded above from the *Encyclo-Britannica* reference is made to the use of *Bees-wax* for candle-manufacture from Roman times. I have not come across any references to the use of *bees-wax* in India among the materials used for feeding lamps in ancient and mediaeval India. As *bees-wax* is closely connected with the manufacture of candles I note below some *information about it from Sanskrit sources* :—

(1) The *Amarakośa* (*Between A. D. 500 and 800*) refers to *bees-wax* as "मधूच्छिष्टं तु सिक्थकम्" (Kāṇḍa II,) *Vaiśyavarga*, verse 108 (vide p. 224 of Poona Edition by N. G. Sardesai and H. D. Sharma). Bhānuji Dīkṣita (c. *A. D. 1630*) in his commentary explains the two words मधूच्छिष्ट and सिक्थक for *bees-wax* and observes "द्वे 'मधूच्छिष्टस्य' मोम इति ख्यातस्य." It is clear from this statement that the term "मोम" for *bees-wax* was current at Benares about *A. D. 1630*. Bhānuji does not refer to "मोमबत्ती" or bees-wax candle. This term for candle in general is now current in Northern India. In the Deccan we use the term 'मेणबत्ती" for candle.

(2) Vāgbhaṭa I in his *Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha* (c. *A. D. 625*) refers to bees-wax as मधूच्छिष्ट for use in a medical preparation "खलीघ्नघृततैल" :—

"भल्लातक मधूच्छिष्टजीर्णपिण्याकनागरैः।
घृततैलं पचेत्साम्लैस्तच्च खलीघ्नमुत्तमम् ॥ ३७ ॥"

(Vide p. 128 of अ. संग्रह (सूत्रस्थान Chap. 11) ed. by
R. D. Kinjavadekar, Poona 1940)

(3) Vāgbhaṭa II (c. A. D. 8th or 9th century) refers to *bees-wax* in the following extracts :—

Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya (*Cikitsitasthāna*, chapter 3 – कासचिकित्सित) — "लाक्षां सर्पिर्मधूच्छिष्टं जीवनीयं गणं सिताम्" (verse 75)

and *Cikitsitasthāna*, chap. 19 (कुष्ठचिकित्सित) *verse 78*—

— "वेयः समधूच्छिष्टो विपादिका तेन नश्यति ह्यक्ता।"

and *verse 84*—

— "सिद्धं सिक्थकसिन्दूरपुरतुत्थक ताक्ष्र्यजैः।"

4) The medical glossary *Dhanvantarinighaṇṭu* (earlier than *Amara*) records the following synonyms about bees-wax[1] (सिक्थक) :—

" सिक्थकं मधुकं सिक्थं मधूच्छिष्टं मधूत्थितम् ।
मधुशेषं मदनकं मधुजं माक्षिकाश्रयम ॥ "

(See p. 608 of अष्टांगहृदयकोष by K. M. Vaidya, Trichur, 1936)

(5) Narahari (c. A. D. 1450) in his medical glossary *Rājanighaṇṭu* (Ānandāśrama Sans. Series, Poona, 1896, p. 118) records the properties and synonyms of *bees-wax* :—

गुणाः — " सिक्थकं स्निग्धमधुरं भूतघ्नं भग्नसंधिकृत ।
हन्ति वीसर्पकण्ड्वादिन्व्रणरोपणमुत्तमम ॥ १२० ॥
भंजनं पिच्छलं स्वादु कुष्ठवातास्रजिन्मृदु ।
राजनिघण्टौ सुवर्णादित्रयोदशो वर्गः—
सिक्थकं मधुकं सिक्थं मधुजं मधुसंभवम् ।
मदनकं मधूच्छिष्टं मदनं मक्षिकामलम् ॥ १७३ ॥
क्षौद्रेयं पीतरागं च स्निग्धं माक्षिकजं तथा ।
क्षौद्रजं मधुशेषं च द्रावकं माक्षिकाश्रयम् ॥ १७४ ॥
मधूषितं च संप्रोक्तं मधूत्थं चोनविंशतिः । "

Page 431— Narahari mentions the vernacular term मेण for bees-wax in the following verse :—

" मेणो कलिङ्गे शोकार्थे शल्ये काके च धूर्तके ।
मदनश्च समाख्यातः षडमी समुदाहृताः ॥ १२ ॥ "

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[1] I may note here the references to *bees-wax* in the *Geographical Account of Countries round the Bay of Bengal (A. D. 1669-1679)* by Thomas Bowrey (Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1905) :—

Page 290— foot note 8 — " *Bees-wax* " mentioned as an article of trade of the Mallays (of Achin) with Pegu etc. (see p. 35 of Lockyer's *Trade in India*).

Pages 56-57 — Bowrey mentions *bees-wax* as *king's commodity* in his account of Choromandel. In foot-note 2 the editor quotes an extract dated *8th Sept. 1676* from the *Diary of Streynsham Master*, p. 57, on his journey from Balasor to Hugli, which reads " Ganges, on the east side of which most part of the great quantity of *bees-wax* is made, which is the *king's commodity.* "

P. 182 — Bowrey mentions " *bees-wax* " as a product of Bengal produced in plenty.

P. 225 — Bowrey refers to " *bees-wax* " as *king's commodity* in his account of Patna (Bihar).

P. 184 — foot-note 1— *Tavernier*, Vol. II, p. 141 — reference to *wax* as a product of Bengal.

(6) The *Carakasaṁhitā* (*Cikitsāsthāna* Chap. 7, verse 121 — p. 456 of N. S. Press Edition, 1941) refers to *bees-wax* in its treatment of leprosy (कुष्ठ):—

'देयः स मधूच्छिष्टो विपादिका तेन शाम्यतेऽभ्यक्ता ॥'

(7) Dr. G. P. Majumdar in his remarks of *Toilet* (p. 84 of *Some Aspects of Indian Civilization*, Calcutta, 1938) states that according to Vinaya texts the Buddhist *Bhikkus* are "forbidden to smooth the hair with a comb or with a shampooing instrument with pomade, hair oil or *bees-wax*."

The foregoing few references are sufficient to establish the antiquity of *bees-wax* in India for at least 2000 years, if not more. These references, however, are not useful to us in our inquiry about the use of *bees-wax* for the manufacture of candles in India.

The Marathi Dictionary *Śabdakośa* (by Date and Karve) makes the following entries about candle or मेणबत्ती :—

Vol. IV (1938), *p. 2527*—

मेण · wax (मधूच्छिष्ट) *Persian* मोम्

मेणबत्ती – Bees-wax candle. (*Persian* मोम्, मूम् + बत्ती)

मेणवात – मेणबत्ती

Page 2543— मोमबत्ती – मेणबत्ती

Usage— "झाडें मोम्बत्त्याचीं लावणं तीं पुसून लावावीं"

— पत्रें यादी etc. २८६ (काव्येतिहाससंग्रह)

(This usage of the word मोम्बत्ती is later than A. D. 1700).

I have already recorded the reference to मेण in the glossary by Narahari (*c. A. D. 1450*) viz. *Rajanighaṇṭu*, in which the Sanskrit word मदन is equated with मेण (मेणे ... मदनश्च समाख्यातः). This reference proves that the term मेण was current *c. A. D. 1450*. This conclusion is corroborated by the references to "मेण राळी" and "मेण तेल" on *folio 38* of a Ms on cosmetics and perfumery called the *Gandhavāda* with a Marathi commentary available in B. O. R. Institute Collection (Raddi collection). According to my evidence this work was composed *between c. A. D. 1350 and 1550*. This use of मेण or *bees-wax* in cosmetics is in harmony with the reference to *bees-wax* in the *Vinaya* texts which, however, prohibit its use for toilet purposes by the *Bhikkus* as pointed out by Dr. G. P. Majumdar and noted by me already in this paper.

The Maratha King Shāhu of Satara, the grandson of Shivaji the Great, was brought up in Mogul captivity in his boyhood. He was, therefore, fond of certain articles of luxury current at the Mogul court in the latter half of the 17th century and when he began to rule the Maratha country with his headquarters at Satara he procured these articles for his use as will be seen from the following evidence :—

In the *Peshwa Daftar Selections* ed. by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai we get the following documents proving the use of *wax-candles* (मोम्बत्ती) and *rose-water* (गुलाब) by King Shahu (A. D. 1682–1749):—

P. D. Selection No. 8 — Letter No. 51 dated *13th April 1723*. This letter is written by Kanhoji Angre Sarkhel to King Shahu, forwarding about *750 candles* ("मोमबत्त्या") weighing 7 ¼ *maunds* and 5 *sers* together with about 20 *rose-water* bottles ("गुलाब सिसे सुमार २०") in response to Shau's letter to the writer, stating that 1000 candles were required by Shahu in connection with the marriage of Rājasbai ("आज्ञा केले कीं चिरंजीव राजसबाईच्या लग्नास मोंबातियाचें प्रयोजन आहे तरी येक हजार मोमबत्त्या पाठऊन देणें म्हणोन आज्ञा. त्यावरून मोंबत्त्या व गुलाबासिसे पाठविले आहेत").

Rao Br. Sardesai adds the following note to this letter :—

"Raja Shahu constantly ordered *candles* and other foreign articles from the Angres who probably procured them from the British."

P. D. S. No. 8 — Letter No. 52 dated *3-8-1715* (?) is a Memo. of foreign articles ordered by King Shahu from Kanhoji Angre. This list includes *400 candles* ("४०० मोंबत्ती"), 100 *rose-water bottles* ("१०० गुलाब सिसे") together with elephant tusks, knives, cloths, tobacco (बगदादी and सुरती), musk, gun-powder, swords etc.

The foregoing evidence conclusively proves the use of *candles* in the Maratha country[1] later than A. D. 1700, though this use

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[1] The increasing use of candles in the Maratha Country during the regime of the Peshwas is vouched by the following references in *Peshwa Dafter Selection No. 32* (Private Life of the later Peshwas) ed. by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, 1933 :—

Letter No. 30 of 23-8-1815 — "१००० रोशनाईकडे मेणबत्त्या खरेदी व॥"

(Rs. 1000 spent for the purchase of *candles* for *Gaṇapati Festival* in A. D. 1815).

Letter No. 83 of 30-8-1771 — "मोमबत्त्या सुमार १०० पाठविल्या पावल्या."

(These *candles* were received for the Jewellery Department of the Peshwa).

(*continued on the following page*)

was confined to royalties. Rao Br. Sardesai states that Shahu ordered *candles*, *rose-water* etc. from Kanhoji Angre, who probably purchased them from the British. If this statement is correct we must presume that *candles* were not manufactured in India but that they were an article of foreign import in India in the early part of the 18th century.

Let us now record the use of candles in India in the *17th century*. In this connection the evidence of the glossary called the *Rājavyavahārakośa* composed by Raghunātha Paṇḍita about *A. D. 1676* by order of Shivaji the great (died A. D. 1680) is very helpful. In the 1st section of this glossary called the *Rājavarga* (p. 3 of the Poona Edition, 1880) the author records some terminology about lighting appliances etc. in the following extract :—

" ... ... दीपधरास्तु ते ॥ २२ ॥
मशाले स्यु, र्हिलाली तु प्रदीपधर उच्यते ।
दीपिका दिवटी प्रोक्ता हिलालस्तु प्रदीपकः ॥ २३ ॥ "
— " दीपशाखा तु समयी फिलसोजः स्तम्भदीपकः ॥ २७ ॥
दीपग् चिराग् सीखाचिराग् तु ज्ञेयो रोहणदीपकः ।
स्यादन्तरालदीपस्तु कंदील[1] इति नामतः ॥ २८ ॥

(*continued from the previous page*)

Letter No. 226 of 16-4-1815— This is a *contract* (मख्ता) for supplying *lights* in the Peshwa's palaces at Poona undertaken by one Jivaji Krishnaji Bhutkar. It refers to दीप, रुई, कापूस, तेल. No reference to candles is found in this contract for 12 months. Evidently the *lamps* at the palaces were *oil-lamps* normally and *candles* were used on special occasions.

[1] Vide p. 73 of *Portuguese Vocables* by Dalgado, G. O. Series Baroda, 1936– " ? *Candil* (in the old acceptation of " a lamp, " now obsolete). Guj. *Kandil*, a glass lamp. — Hindi, Hindust. *qandil* — Kan. *Kandil* — Mal. *Kandil*, — Ach. *Khandel*. — Jap. *Kantera*, a hand lamp."

In all probability the word is imported directly from the Arabic *qandil*. The origin of the Japanese term is doubtful; perhaps it is from the English *Candle*, notwithstanding the difference in meaning. Gonçalves Viana believes that it is from the Spanish *Candela*, " a candle. "

Peshwa Dafter Selection No. 32 (Private Life of later Peshwas) Letter *No. 86* refers to a फानूस (lantern) fitted with mirrors (आरसे कलहईदार) required by the Peshwa. A special carpenter was asked to prepare this *lantern* | The *Śabdakośa* by Date and Karve, p. 2173, records the words फाणस, फाणूस, (Arabic फानूस) = कंदील.— Usages:— " फाणूस लावावे त्यांत मेणबत्या लावाव्या (पत्रें, यादी etc. २८५) and प्रभाकर लावण्या (९२) " फाणसें झाडें फिरंगाणी काम बिलोरी । लाऊन मेणबत्या भंवताल्या हारोहारी । "].

उत्सोजः स्याद्धूपतरुर् ऊद्दानी धूपपात्रकम् ।
मैणकोशस्तु मोम्दानी मोम्बत्ती मैणवर्तिका ॥ २९ ॥"

In the above extract the following words and their meanings recorded by Raghunātha Paṇḍita are useful for our present inquiry :—

(1) मोम्दानी = मैणकोश (candle-stick)

(2) मोम्बत्ती = मैणवर्तिका (candle or bees-wax candle)

I am not aware of the existence of the words मैणकोश and मैणवर्तिका in any lexicons Sanskrit or Prakrit so far known. It appears that Raghunātha has coined these words to explain the foreign[1] terms मोम्दानी and मोम्बत्ती then current in the Maratha country like many other terms which constitute the *Rājavyavahārakośa*, a glossary prepared with the object of clarifying the meanings of these terms for the benefit of Shivaji's courtiers and other officers in his kingdom. I have already pointed out that Bhānuji Dīkṣita (c. A. D. 1630) living at Benares uses the Persian term मोम् (bees-wax) in explaining Amara's two terms "मधूच्छिष्ट" and "सिक्थक" for *bees-wax*. Bhānuji nowhere refers to मोम्बत्ती (candle) as such, though candles were used in India at this time as will be seen from the evidence recorded below.

John Fryer in his *Travels* (*A. D. 1672-1681*) published by Hakluyt Society, London, 1912 refers to *wax for Tapers* in his *Description of Goa* as follows :—

Vol. II, Page 28 — "The finest *Manchet* (= wheaten bread) it may be in the world is made here and the purest *Virgins Wax for Tapers.*"

The Editor of the above *Travels* makes the following remarks on the word *Tapers* in the above extract :—

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[1] In his फार्शी–मराठी कोश (Poona, 1925, p. 208) Prof. M. T. Patwardhan makes the following entries about मोम् (bees-wax) and allied terms :—

मोम् जामा (पु.) मेण–कापड. " खर्च किरकोळ खाद्या व मोम्-जामा यांस; व हुण्डणावळ आधिक लागली " (see महेश्वर दरबारची बातमीपत्रें १।११५)

मोम्–दील मेण-हृदयी-" प्राणत्यागच केला तर नाहक दुर्निमित्य होईल यास्तव मोम्दीलही जाली (see म. द. बातमीपत्रें १।११५)

मोम्–बत्ती (स्त्री.) मेणबत्ती— " झाडें मोम्बत्त्यांचीं लावणें तीं पुसून लावावी " (see साने— " पत्रें यादी वगर " २८६).

"Bee farming for the collection of honey and *wax*, most of which is sent to Goa and *made into candles for Church altars* is still an industry in *Kanaru* (*Bombay* Gaz. XV, Pt. 1, 104 ff.).

Page 11 — Description of a *Church* at Goa (college of *Dominicans*) — "In the *Sacristan* were massy *silver candle-sticks* and other vessels very Rich."

Page 251 — Travels into Persia —

"Nor can we forget another sort of Black Traders, burning light at Noon-day, which are the Necromancers, whose shops are bestuck with *candles*, lighted in every hole...... ".

Tavernier in his *Travels in India* (Vol. II, London, 1889) makes the following references to *candles* :—

Pagê 8 — Speaking of large quantities of spun cotton, exported to Europe by the English and Dutch companies Tavernier states :—

"These are the kinds which are used to make the *wicks of candles*, and stockings and to mingle with the web of silken stuffs.

Page 292 — speaking of a *pagoda in Siam* Tavernier states :—

"In the middle there is, as it were, a great chapel all guilded within, where a *lamp* and three *wax-candles* are kept alight in front of the *altar, which is covered with idols...* "

Page 336 — M. Constant, commander at Gombroon (Bandar Abbas) gave a dinner to several Franks. In the description of this dinner Tavernier refers to *lamps*, which were "*saucers full of oil* attached to the walls of the house and at a distance of about one foot from each other". Instead of these lamps *M. Constant* ordered "*white wax-candles to be placed throughout*, and both within and without the house there was light every where". All the merchants both Christians and Muhammadans were surprised at it. At this Tavernier remarked :— "this *wax* does not cost so much to the company as it does to private persons, because *all the Dutch vessels which come from Mocha* (Mocca) *carry much of it as it is very cheap there.*"

Page 18 — Speaking of *Cinnamon* from Ceylon Tavernier states :—

"The Portuguese used to gather quantities of it (*Cinnamon*) which they placed in Chaldrons with water together with the

small points of the ends of the branches and they boiled the whole till the water was evaporated when cooled, the upper portion of what remained was like *a paste of white wax* and at the bottom of the Chaldron there was *Camphor.* Of this paste they made *tapers*, which they used in the Churches during the service at the annual festivals, and as soon as the *tapers* were lighted all the Church was perfumed with an odour of cinnamon. Formerly the Portuguese procured cinnamon from the countries belonging to the *Rajas* in the neighbourhood of *Cochin.*"

Page 413 — Giving an account of his *arrival in Holland* with the Dutch fleet, Tavernier states :—

" As soon as we had sighted the coasts of Holland, all the soldiers of our fleet......fixed a quantity of *small wax-tapers* about the poop and bow of the vessel.........On our vessel alone there were more than *1700 of these wax-tapers*, both large and small. The sailors had kept them since they were at *Manillas, from whence they had brought a large quantity, as also from Point de Galle* in the island of Ceylon......as *wax was cheap throughout India* and is easily bleached, *every religious house always has a large supply of wax-tapers* on account of the festivals, when numbers are lighted before the *grand altar and in all the Chapels.* Thus the least of the Dutch Sailors had *thirty* or *forty* of these *tapers* for his share and some of them had some *as thick as the thigh.*"

Among the references to the use of *wax-candles* by Tavernier we note with interest their *use before idols in a pagoda in Siam.*

Pietro Della Valle in his *Travels in India* (Hak. Society, London, 1892) Vol. II, makes the following references to *candles* :—

Letter No. V dated *22nd November 1623* from *Ikkeri* (to the South-east of Honawar in the Shimoga District of Mysore) :—

Page 235— Description of a Shiva Temple

— " The *idol* was called *Virenà Deurù* ... at the upper end in a dark place *with candles before him.*

Page 237 — " In the middle of the temple ... ... a darker enclosure ... ... wherein stood ... a little stockade or *Pallisade* ... to hang *Lamps* and *Tapers* upon at more solemn days and hours."

Page 238— " *Tapers* being lighted, particularly at the stockade."

— Idol of *Virenà* taken in a procession.

— Two Ministers " with lighted *Tapers* marched first, followed, by the Idol in his canopy.

Page 239 — One of the Priests or Ministers " began to salute the Idol a far off with a dim *Taper* in his hand making a great circle ... ... several times. "

— " *Palisade of lights* ... through which it is not lawful to pass. "

Page 240 — The priest " took a *wax-candle* and therewith described within the *Palanchino* or carriage before the Idol many circles with lines at the end ; and putting out the *candle* took the Idol out of the *Palanchino* and carrying it through the railed stockade in the middle of the *Torches*, placed it on its Tribunal at the Upper End where it usually stands. "

— " *Candles* being put out, the ceremonies ended and the people returned to their Houses " (The Editor observes in foot-note 2 on p. 240 :—

" *Wax-candles* are certainly *not common in India even in the present days*, among natives, and were probably used only in temples. ")

Page 271 — " The night following there was a great solemnity in all the *Temples* by *lighting of candles.* "

Page 279 — " *Tapers* were lighted up *in all the Temples of Ikkeri.* "

On *p. 206* Della Valle mentions the *Divāli* (" the *Davàli* or feast of the Indian Gentiles ") which was celebrated on *24th October 1623.* On *page 283* he describes in picturesque detail a *festival of illumination* on *21st November 1623* which was a " *New Moon* " day and at which the King of Ikkeri, Venkatappa Naik was present. The description of this illumination reads like the description of Divāli. I, therefore, reproduce it below :—

Page 283 — " *November* the one and twentieth. This night an infinite number of *Torches* and *candles* were lighted, not only in all the Temples, but also in all the Streets, Houses, and Shops of *Ikkeri*, which made a kind of splendour over all the city. In each of the Temples was its Idol, which in some was a serpent ; and they had adorned the outward Porches, not only with lights

but also with certain *contrivances of paper* on which were painted men on Horseback, Elephants, people fighting and other old figures; behind which papers *lights* were placed in certain little Arches like those which we make in our sepulchres; these with other gay Ornaments of silk hung round about made a sufficiently pretty show. In the great Temple not onely the inside, in the middle whereof is a very high and slender cupola (which appears without too) but also all the outer walls and all those round about the Piazza which lies before it, as also the Houses on the adjacent sides, were all full of *lights*. The concourse of people of all sorts and degrees, both *Men and Women*, was very great; and they appeared to go about *visiting all the Temples*.

When it was very late the King came to the great Temple accompanied only by his two grandsons ... ... in a *Palanchino*, his two nephews on Horse-back ... ... at a great distance, with some number of Souldiers and Servants on Foot ... ... The King stayed in the Temple about an hour, being entertained with Musick, Dancing and other things which I could not see because I was without."

We note with interest the *contrivances of paper with lights behind them*, which adorned the outward porches at this festival of A. D. 1623 on the *New-Moon* day. They can be compared with hanging paper-lanterns which adorn the fronts of houses in modern *Divāli* celebrations.

Letter No. VII dated 31st January 1624 from Goa—
Page 348— Description of a Temple near *Mangalore*
— Description of a Pillar for light near the Temple :—

" Where the stairs begin stands a high, strait and round *brazen pillar*[1] ty'd about in several places with little fillets; 'tis about 60 Palms (each Palm = about 9 inches) and one and a half thick from the bottom to the top, with little dimunition. On this Pillar are placed about *seventeen round brazen wheels*[2] made with many spokes round about like stars : they are to support the *lights*

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1 The Editor States :— "This pillar is not mentioned in modern descriptions of the Temple."

2 What was the exact size of these wheels? Were they used as pulle for hoisting up hanging lamps?

in great Festivals and are distant about three Palms one from another. The top terminates in a great *brazen candle-stick* of five branches of which the middlemost is highest, the other four of equal height. The foot of the Pillar is square and hath an Idol engraven on each side : the whole structure is or at least seems to be, all of one piece."

Page 348 — "The walls of a less Inclosure (wherein according to their custom, the Temple stands) are also surrounded on the outside with *eleven wooden rails* upto the top, distant one above the other little more than an *Architectural Palm*;[1] these also serve to bear *Lights* on Festival occasions; which must needs make a brave show, the Temple thereby appearing as if it were all on fire)."

It is clear from the evidence recorded so far that *wax-candles* were used in the *17th century* not only by the Christians of Goa in their Churches but also by the Hindus in their temples as clearly stated by Pietro Della Valle (*A. D. 1623-24*) in his description of Hindu Temples. This use of *wax-candles* in Hindu temples in *A. D. 1623* and in a pagoda in Siam referred to by Tavernier (c. *A. D. 1670*) is further corroborated by *Duarto Barbosa* (A. D. 1518) who in his *Travels* (Hak. Society, London, 1918) Vol. I, *p. 115*, expressly mentions the use of candles side by side with that of oil-lamps as will be seen from the following extract :—

Page 115 — Speaking of the *Brahmins of Gujarat* Barbosa observes :—

"......they celebrate great ceremonies in honour of these *idols*, entertaining them with great *store of candles* and oil-*lamps* and with bells after our fashion)."

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[1] The height of the brazen Pillar was *60 Palms*. The Editor remarks :— "Probably the Italian measure or *Palmo* is here referred to, equal to about *nine* inches. The measure of a "*Palm*" may also be understood as equal to about 8½ inches (length of a hand) or 3 inches (breadth of a hand). If *Palms* = 3 inches the height of the Pillar of *60 Palms* = 180 inches = *15 feet*. If *Palm* = 9 inches the Pillar of *60 Palms* = *540* inches = *45 feet* —Scholars interested in the history of Indian architecture will be better able to visualize this brazen Pillar than myself.

In the *Ain-i-Akbari* (*A. D. 1590*) the *Regulations*[1] *for the Illuminations* at Akbar's court are recorded in detail. They refer

[1] These *Regulations for the Illuminations* (Vide pp. 42-43 of Francis Gladwin's Eng. Trans. of *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1897) may be reproduced here as they are very useful for reconstructing the history of lamps and lighting in Mediaeval India :—

Regulations for the Illuminations— This is a spark of celestial fire.

At noon when the Sun enters the 14th degree of the sign *Aries*, they place in the Sun's rays a kind of shining onyx, called in the Hindustani language *Soorej* Kerant (सूर्यकान्त) and put to it a piece of cotton which from heat of the stone catches fire. And this celestial fire is committed to the care of proper persons ; and the lamp-lighters, link-men and cooks make use there of for their respective offices : and when the year expires, they catch new fire. The vessel this fire is preserved in, is called Agangar or the fire-pot. There is also a shining white stone called *Chunder Kerant* (चन्द्रकान्त), which, upon being exposed to the moon's beams, drips water.

Every afternoon, at one Ghurry before sun-set his Majesty, if on horseback alights ; or if sleeping, he is awakened. And when the Sun sets, the attendants light up *twelve camphor candles* in *twelve candle-sticks of gold and silver* and bring them into the presence, when a singer of sweet melody, taking up one of the candle-sticks, sings a variety of delightful airs and concludes with imploring blessings on his Majesty.

It is impossible to describe the beauty and various forms of these *candle-sticks* : Some of them *weigh forty pounds* and upwards and are carved with a variety of figures. Some are *single*, others of *two branches* and others of more.

They cast *camphor candles three yards* long, and *some larger*, and they are *ornamented with flowers*. The palace is moreover illuminated within side and without with *flambeaux fixed upon poles with iron prongs*. The *first second* and *third* nights of the moon when there is but little moonlight prongs are lighted with eight flambeaux. From the *fourth* to the *tenth* they decrease one in number every night, so that on the *tenth* night, when the moon shines very bright, one flambeaux is sufficient. And they continue in this state till the *fifteenth* and increase one every day from the *sixteenth* to the *nineteenth*. On the *twentieth* they continue the same, and on the *twenty first* and *twenty second* increase one daily ; the *twenty third* is the same as the *twenty second* and from the *twenty fourth* to *thirtieth* night of the moon, eight prongs are lighted up. For *each link* are allowed *one seer and half of oil*, and *half a seer of rags*, more or less according to the size. In some places they burn lamps with *grease*; but *in palace nothing is used but oil.*

In order to render the royal camp conspicuous to those who come from far, his Majesty has caused to be erected in the front of the *Dowlet Khanah*, a pole *upwards of forty yards high* which is supported by *sixteen ropes* and from the top of the pole is suspended a *large lantern* which they call *Akass deeah* (आकाश दिया or आकाशदीप).

These offices are performed by many of the Munsubdars, Ahdeeans, and other military men. The pay of a footsoldier never exceeds two thousand four hundred, and is never less than 80 Dams."

to the use of *camphor candles* at the Mughal Court in different kinds of *candle-sticks.* Camphor candles, three yards long and even more must have been a grand sight to see for Akbar's courtiers. As compared with the camphor candles the wax-candles used in Hindu temples (about *A. D 1518*) in *Gujarat* and in *Kanara* (*A. D. 1623*) dwindle into insignificance. Wax-candles must have been in use in Akbar's time in the household of common men, both Hindu and Muslim, but they don't appear to have been in favour at the imperial Court which was devoted to the pursuit of the sublime and the beautiful, irrespective of the cost involved in such a pursuit.

Though *Barbosa* refers to the use of *wax-candles* in Hindu Temples in *A. D. 1518* in Gujarat Babur in his *Memoirs* deplores the *absence of candles* and *candle-sticks* in Hindustan in his diary for *A. D. 1525-1526.* Perhaps he did not notice them in Central and Northern India in the territories conquered by him. Are we, therefore, to suppose that the use of candles was unknown in India before A. D. 1498, the date of Portuguese advent? In the following extract from *Baburnāmā* (Trans. by A. S. Beveridge, Vol. II, London, 1922, p. 518) we get a list of the defects of Hindustan, among which the *absence of candles and candle-sticks* is emphatically deplored :—

" Hindustan is a country of few charms. Its people have no good looks; of social intercourse, paying and receiving visits there is none............no hot-baths, no colleges, *no candles, torches or candle-sticks.*

In place of candle and torch they have a great dirty gang they call *lamp-men* (*diwaṭī*).........This is the Hindustan substitute for lamps and candle-sticks.........."

We must now try to trace references to the use of candles in India by Muslims prior to A. D. 1500 and later than the Muslim conquest of Sind in A. D. 712.

In concluding this paper I must not fail to take notice of the so-called *candle-stick* [1] discovered in Mohenjo Daro excavations,

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[1] I have to thank my friend Dr. A. D. Pusalker, Assistant Director, Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, for drawing my attention to this candlestick and Mr. Mackay's remarks on it.

about which Ernest Mackay remarks as follows on p. 137 of his *Indus Civilization* (London, 1935):—

"A pottery candlestick (Pl. O, 5) provides an answer to the question how the houses were lighted; no dish or other receptacle has yet been found which, by definite marks of burning at the edge, can be identified as a lamp. It seems certain that some vegetable oil must have been used for lamps in the Indus valley, since lamps were undoubtedly known in neighbouring countries at that time; in any case, it is extremely interesting to discover that candles were also in use at such an early date."

The *candlestick*[1] referred to above is described in detail by Mackay on p. 414 of Vol. I of *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro*, 1938, New Delhi. If candlesticks were used in India as early as c. B. C. 3000 during the days of the Indus valley civilization one wonders why their use should not be referred to in the extant Indian literature from the *Ṛgveda* onwards upto the end of the 15th century A. D. Though the bees-wax was known in India from very early times and was used for medical and other purposes such as the preparation of wax-moulds for casting metal images, no trace of bees-wax used for the manufacture of candles has yet been found so far as my knowledge goes. This view of mine gets some confirmation from the statement of Emperor Baber in his *Memoirs* for A. D. 1525-26 deploring the absence of candles and candlesticks in *Hindustan* by which he evidently means Northern Indian territory conquered by him. The use of candles in Hindu temples in Gujarat referred to by Barbosa in A. D. 1518 only shows that they were getting current in India towards the end of the 15th century

[1] In reply to my inquiry about candles in India in pre-Mughal times Dr. H. Goetz, Curator, Baroda Museum, wrote on 2-10-1947:—

"As to candles I should regard Mackay's identification of a candle-stick from Mohenjo Daro very improbable. In India I cannot trace candles before Mughal invasion. Thus the candle might have been introduced from China. But I do not feel sure, as candles played a great rôle in Christian ritual since olden times. However, I do not know since when exactly. The oldest European candle-sticks which I know are of the *11th century*. On ground of quite a number of considerations, which I cannot specify here, I should be inclined to search the origin of the wax-candle in late T'ang China."

perhaps as a result of Portuguese contact. This is the only conclusion I can draw from the evidence so far traced and recorded.

Before closing this paper I record the following reference to "*waxen tapers*" used in a Hindu Chapel (before the goddess *Kālī*) at Calicut between *A. D. 1502 and 1508*:—

In the *Travels* of the Italian traveller *Varthema* (Argonaut Press, London, 1928) chap. VII is devoted to *Calicut* (pp. 55–70). While describing the King of Calicut and his Chapel Varthema refers to the sacrifice of a cock before the goddess (*Sathanas* (= *Kālī*) in the Chapel and observes :—

Page 56 — "They have a certain small table ...... extremely well adorned with *roses*, flowers and other ornaments. Upon this table they have the blood of a cock.........they have a silver knife with which they have killed the cock, and which they tinge with the blood.........and finally all that blood is burnt, the *waxen tapers being kept lighted during the whole time.*"

The above reference to "waxen tapers" by Varthema is the earliest so far traced by me and hence important for my inquiry. The references to the use of wax-candles by *Varthema*, *Barbosa* and *Pietro Della Valle* between A. D. 1502 and 1623 illustrate the use of candles along the coast line of India.

Chronology	Reference
c. B. C. 3000	—Supposed *candle-stick* found at Mohenjo-Daro.
	—*Bees-wax* candles mentioned by *Roman* writers.
	—*candles* and *candle-sticks* mentioned in Holy Bible.
Between A. D. 500 and 1100	—*Turuṣka taila* for feeding lamps mentioned in आर्यमञ्जुश्रीमूलकल्प and *Pārasika taila* (Persian oil) mentioned by Bilhaṇa in the विक्रमाङ्कदेवचरित
A. D. 1000-1100	—Use of ornamental candle-sticks in Europe.
A. D. 1200-1300	—Guild of travelling *candle-makers in Paris.*
A. D. 1502-1508	—*Varthema* refers to "waxen tapers" used in a Hindu Chapel at Calicut.
A. D. 1518	—*Barbosa* refers to the use of *candles* and oil-lamps by the Brahmins of Gujarat before idols during ceremonies in their honour.
A. D. 1525	—*Baber* deplores the *absence of candles* and *candle-sticks* in Hindusthan.
A. D. 1590	—*Ain-i-Akbari* mentions *camphor-candles* (three yards long) and gold and silver *candlesticks* at Akbar's court.
A. D. 1623 (November)	—*Pietro Della Valle* refers to the use of "*wax-candles*" in a Hindu temple at Ikkeri (in the Shimoga District of Mysore).
A. D. 1672-1681	—*John Fryer* in his description of *Goa* mentions "*Wax for tapers*" and "*massy silver-candle-sticks* used in Churches at *Goa.*
	—*Tavernier* refers to "*wax-candles*" before an altar in a *pagoda at Siam.*
	—*Tavernier* mentions *wax-tapers* used by *Dutch Sailors.*
c. A. D. 1676	—The *Rājavyavahārakośa* mentions मोम्दानी (candlestick) and मोम्बत्ती (candle).
c. A. D. 1675-A. D. 1800	—*Golden age* of the candlestick in Europe.
A. D. 1723	—750 *candles* and 20 *Rose-water* bottles procured from the English by King Shahu of Satara.
A. D. 1854	—Introduction of modern candles of *paraffin wax* etc.

"DVIPADAṀ VARA" IN GAUDAPĀDAKĀRIKĀ (IV. 1)*

BY

R. D. KARMARKAR

The author of the Gaudapādakārikās salutes some one described as द्विपदां वर in the opening verse of the Fourth Section of his work. The verse in question is

ज्ञानेनाकाशकल्पेन धर्मान्यो गगनोपमान् ।
ज्ञेयाभिन्नेन संबुद्धस्तं वन्दे द्विपदां वरम् ॥ IV. 1

The द्विपदां वर is here described as one who had realised the Dharmas resembling the sky, by ज्ञान which is like the sky and non-different from the ज्ञेय. The next verse (IV. 2) may also be taken to refer to the द्विपदां वर as one who had taught the अस्पर्शयोग,

अस्पर्शयोगो वै नाम सर्वसत्त्वसुखो हितः ।
अविवादोऽविरुद्धश्च देशितस्तं नमाम्यहम् ॥

Śaṅkarācārya understands this verse to mean that the अस्पर्शयोग itself is saluted, presumably on the analogy of the last verse in the fourth chapter where the पद itelf is saluted, but it would be better to take the last line to mean

येन (द्विपदां वरेण) अस्पर्शयोगो देशितस्तं नमाम्यहम् ।

आनन्दगिरि in his comment on the Śaṅkarabhāṣya on IV. 1, says that Gaudapāda had practised penance at the Badarikāśrama to propitiate Nārāyaṇa who, pleased with the penance, gave him as a boon the philosophical knowledge and thus Nārāyaṇa could be regarded as Gaudapāda's teacher. द्विपदां वर according to आनन्दगिरि, thus refers to Nārāyaṇa.[1]

Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭācārya in his edition of Gaudapādakārikā (which he calls Āgamaśāstra) discusses this question in detail and comes to the following conclusion: 'It is said in the Kārikā that he to whom the author pays his homage perfectly under-

* This paper was read at the Darbhanga Session of the All-India Oriental Conference (1948). It is here printed with the permission of the Secretary of the Conference.

[1] परदेवतारूपमुपदेष्टारं प्रणमति । आचार्यो हि पुरा बदरिकाश्रमे नरनारायणाधिष्ठिते नारायणं भगवन्तमभिप्रेत्य तपो महद्‌तप्यत । भगवानतिप्रसन्नस्तस्मै विद्यामादात्रेति प्रसिद्धं परमगुरुत्वं परमेश्वरस्येति भावः । P. 157 माण्डूक्योपनिषद्, आनन्दाश्रम Edition.

stood the *Dharmas*. Here if he is meant to be Nārāyaṇa one would naturally ask: What is the authority for it? Where is it found that he actually did so? This question demands a reply from those who hold that Nārāyaṇa is referred to here. Not only what we have seen above with regard to the first Kārikā, but also the whole chapter, as can be shown, is in favour of the Buddha'.

It is proposed in this paper to criticise the arguments advanced by Bhaṭṭācārya and to show that the expression द्विपदां वर could not possibly refer to Buddha; it may not also refer to Nārāyaṇa as stated by Ānandagiri. We are of opinion that by द्विपदां वर we should understand Śuka, the direct teacher of Gauḍapāda. Prof. Vidhuśekhara wants to know what authority there is to prove that Nārāyaṇa understood the Dharmas. It is rather strange that such a question should have been mooted, when we find that Nārāyaṇa (even if we ignore the Purāṇic accounts about him) is certainly known to be the Ṛṣi of the celebrated Puruṣasūkta in the Ṛgveda. The Puruṣasūkta contains the famous passage पुरुष एवेदं सर्वं यद्भूतं यच्च भव्यम् which is the basis of the Advaitic theories. One who did not perfectly understand the Dharmas, could not surely have come to the above conclusion. Nārāyaṇa is the preacher of some yoga at any rate in the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mahābhārata and he is also presumably referred to in the Gītā (IV. 2) as the preacher of the yoga handed down by tradition (एवं परंपराप्राप्तमिमं राजर्षयो विदुः).

Prof. V. Bhaṭṭācārya sees Buddhist traces everywhere in the Gauḍapādakārikās and has, in our opinion, misunderstood several kārikās, and twisted them consciously or unconsciously. We have, in our fourthcoming edition of the Gauḍapādakārikās criticised his interpretations in detail. We propose in this paper to confine ourselves to only IV. 99 which is admitted by all to refer to Buddha by name. No one questions the fact that Gauḍapāda has made use of many Buddhistic terms but that cannot entitle us to infer that he held Buddhist philosophical views. Gauḍapāda is obviously using Buddhistic philosophical terminology to combat the Buddhists on their own ground, by using their own weapons, so to speak.

Gauḍapādakārikā IV. 99 where Buddha is mentioned by name runs as follows—

क्रमते न हि बुद्धस्य ज्ञानं धर्मेषु तायिनः ।
सर्वे धर्मास्तथा ज्ञानं नैतद् बुद्धेन भाषितम् ॥

Prof. Vidhuśekhara translates it as follows :—

According to the Buddha who instructs the way known to him (*tāyin*), Jñāna does not approach the *dharmas* (*i. e.* it does not relate itself to the objects). But all *dharmas* as well as *jñāna*— this has not been said by the Buddha.

Svāmī Nikhilānanda translates the same as follows :—

The knowledge of the wise one, who is all-light is ever untouched by objects. All the entities as well as knowledge (which are non-different) are also ever-untouched by any object. This is not the view of the Buddha.

Manilal N. Dvivedi translates the same as follows :—

Thought in the enlightened whose effulgence is everywhere never relates itself to objects, nor do attributes or knowledge, relate themselves to anything. This however is not the same as that which is held by the Bauddhas.

It would be seen that Prof. Vidhuśekhara's interpretation is quite unconvincing. He takes बुद्धस्य in the first line to mean 'According to the Buddha' which is unwarranted. नैतद्बुद्धेन भाषितम् is taken by him to mean अवचनं बुद्धवचनम्. Vidhuśekhara quotes a long passage from the Laṅkāvatāra in support of his contention that Buddha has said nothing, because what he is reported to have said was from the past. We think that the kārikā in question is just a parting kick from Gauḍapāda administered to Buddhism. Gauḍapāda having criticised the Vijñānavāda in his work says that the true doctrine was the अजातिवाद् where nothing is produced or destroyed, only the Turya exists, and Buddha who in the Laṅkāvatāra is made to say again and again[1] तेन हि महामते शृणु साधु च सुष्ठु च मनसि कुरु । भाषिष्येऽहं ते

[1] Pp. 73, 89, 117, 133, 136, 138, 145, 148, 154, 161, 182, 191, 2[illegible]1, 220, 224, 234, 240, 245, Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra edited Bunyiu Nanjio. The whole passage is religiously reproduced as many as eighteen times.

when answering the various questions asked by Mahāmati, did not say anything about the अजातिवाद्, which shows that he could not be looked upon as a trusted philosopher. The Śaṅkara-bhāṣya[1] on the kārikā in question correctly brings out the real meaning in the following words ज्ञानज्ञेयज्ञातृभेदरहितं परमार्थतत्त्वमद्वयमेतन्न बुद्धेन भाषितम् । यद्यपि बाह्यार्थनिराकरणं ज्ञानमात्रकल्पना चाद्वयसामीप्यमुक्तम् । इदं तु परमार्थतत्त्वमद्वैतं वेदान्तेष्वेव विज्ञेयमित्यर्थः । The Bhāṣya also explains बुद्धस्य as meaning परमार्थदर्शिनः and तायिनः as संतानवतो निरन्तरस्याऽऽकाशकल्पस्येत्यर्थः. Gauḍapāda wants to say that the ज्ञान of a pseudo-Buddha is concerned with धर्मs and vice-versa (In IV-54 एवं न चित्तजा धर्माश्चित्तं वापि न धर्मजम् । एवं हेतुफलाजातिं प्रविशन्ति मनीषिणः ॥ the view of the Vijñānavādins is clearly shown to be untenable and Gauḍapāda emphasises the same in IV. 99); a really enlightened person who could be called a तायिन् proper knows that ज्ञान is entirely unconnected with धर्मs which do not exist at all. Nothing can be said to be connected with a वन्ध्यापुत्र. Gautama Buddha holding the view that धर्मs are चित्तज, did not realise the highest truth viz. अजाति. Gautama Buddha was therefore not a तायिन् बुद्ध.[2] We think IV. 99 definitely condemns बुद्ध and he could not have been referred to as द्विपदां वर by Gauḍapāda in IV. 1.

Prof. Vidhuśekhara relies upon IV. 2 to prove that बुद्ध is the द्विपदां वर. We now shall show how IV. 2 is quite a broken reed for Prof. Vidhuśekhara to rely upon, and that his long winded comments on this kārikā are only a piece of special pleading with a vengeance. (1) Prof. Vidhuśekhara says that the word अस्पर्शयोग does not occur in the Upaniṣads. He is however prepared to admit that the use of the word स्पर्श in the Bhagavadgītā (मात्रास्पर्शास्तु कौन्तेय शीतोष्णसुखदुःखदाः । आगमापायिनोऽनित्यास्तांस्तितिक्षस्व भारत II. 14 and स्पर्शान्कृत्वा बहिर्बाह्यान् etc. V. 27) and Śaṅkara's explanation offered there cannot be rejected.

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[1] Some are of opinion that this Bhāṣya is not the work of the famous Śaṅkarācārya, but that does not affect the argument in question.

[2] Prof. P. V. Bapat in his article 'Tāyin, Tāyī, Tādi' (D. R. Bhandarkar volume p. 258) says that Tāyin originally meant 'like' or 'same' and later came to be applied to the Buddha or any holy man who is unshakable, and lastly the meaning 'Protector' came to be fixed up.

We are of opinion that the expression मात्रास्पर्श really means the contact with the three मात्राs referred to in the Māṇḍukyopaniṣad (the three states, जाग्रत्, स्वप्न and सुषुप्ति associated with विश्व, तैजस and प्राज्ञ) and the योग involving अस्पर्श with these मात्राs is rightly spoken as सर्वसत्त्वसुख and हित by Gauḍapāda in IV. 2. This same योग is known as असंप्रज्ञातसमाधि in the Yogasūtras.

The term अस्पर्शयोग does not occur in Buddhist literature as well. So, the non-mention of अस्पर्शयोग in the Upaniṣads directly does not help Prof. Vidhuśekhara's contention.

(2) Undaunted by the fact that the expression अस्पर्शयोग is not found in Buddhist literature, Prof. Vidhuśekhara argues that

(a) अस्पर्श refers to the ninth or the last of the nine dhyānas or meditations called अनुपूर्वविहार. The ninth ध्यान is संज्ञावेदितनिरोध.

(But there is no mention of स्पर्श or अस्पर्श in the संज्ञावेदितनिरोध); Prof. Vidhuśekhara therefore argues

(b) that in the ninth stage, all the mentals headed by स्पर्श are suppressed; the cessation of वेदना is possible only when स्पर्श ceases. स्पर्श is the cause of वेदना, so when there is स्पर्श, there is वेदना, and when there is no स्पर्श there is no वेदना. We are thus expected by Vidhuśekhara to see the word स्पर्श in संज्ञावेदितनिरोध!

Prof. Vidhuśekhara goes on further to say—[1]

(c) In Buddhist works, there is the use of such words as स्पर्शविहार, स्पर्शविहारता, and अस्पर्शविहार. स्पर्शविहार is translated in Tibetan to mean सुखस्थिति or सुखावस्थिति; so अस्पर्शयोग is nothing but अ-सुखयोग (and this fact is referred to by Gauḍapāda in III. 39 अस्पर्शयोगो वै नाम दुर्दर्शः सर्वयोगिभिः । योगिनो बिभ्यति ह्यस्मादभये भयदर्शिनः ॥) meaning 'योग which is not that can be attained with ease'.

It is difficult to take the above rigmarole seriously, when Gauḍapāda calls the अस्पर्शयोग as सर्वसत्त्वसुख, and असुखयोग for the matter of that ought to mean दुःखयोग, rather than योग which cannot be secured with ease.

(4) In the yoga called निरोधसमापत्ति, there is no स्पर्श of anything, so it is rightly named अस्पर्शयोग, says Prof. Vidhuśekhara.

If this argument is to be accepted as valid, then असंप्रज्ञातसमाधि is equally entitled to be called अस्पर्शयोग.

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1 We are taking care to use as far as possible Prof. Vidhuśekhara's own words (pp. 95-100).

(5) Prof. Vidhuśekhara thinks that the fear of the Yogins referred to in III. 39 by Gauḍapāda, is illustrated by Buddha's own case. 'So when the Blessed one entered that state etc. संज्ञावेदयितनिरोध before his परिनिर्वाण, Ānanda took him to be dead. But the venerable Anuruddha said to him that that was not the case, the Blessed one having entered the stage of the *dhyāna* called संज्ञावेदयितनिरोध. After a short time, however, He passed away' Prof. Vidhuśekhara further says "that Buddha's two teachers Ālāra Kālama and Uddaka Rūmapura knew the seventh and eighth of the dhyānas respectively. The Buddha was however not satisfied with what he had from his teachers, and he started to seek after a still higher state and succeeded in realizing it".

Prof. Vidhuśekhara should better not have referred to the above episode, as the testimony of the venerable Anuruddha and the venerable Ānanda, appears to go against Buddha having realised the highest Samādhi stage at all. The venerable Ānanda apparently saw Buddha for the first time in some state which he correctly diagnosised as death, while the venerable Anuruddha was all the while proclaiming that his Master was only enjoying the Samādhi state. All this does not show Buddha in a favourable light.

(6) Prof. Vidhuśekhara draws strange conclusions from the expressions विवदामो न तैः सार्धमविवादं निबोधत in IV. 5. He says that the use of the two words अविवाद् and अविरुद्ध (in IV. 2) shows that in the acceptance of अस्पर्शयोग by the Vedāntists, among whom the author himself (Gauḍapāda) is included, there cannot be raised any dispute or opposition, for there is nothing to be opposed even from their own point of view. This also shows, according to Vidhuśekhara, that the अस्पर्शयोग was not originally taught in the Brahmanic system of Yoga.

The passages in question simply mean that when अजाति is admitted, only अद्वैत remains and this अद्वैत does not simply bother itself with the different contradictory views involved in the admittance of जाति. One who knows that वन्ध्यापुत्र does not exist would hardly trouble oneself with carrying on dispute with theorists who indulge in controversies about the date and place of birth of the वन्ध्यापुत्र and so on. There being only अद्वैत,

there cannot possibly be any internal or external opposition or contradiction about it.

It is unnecessary to probe the matter any further here. Prof. Vidhuśekhara has failed to make out a case for regarding Buddha to be understood by the expression द्विपदां वर.

Who then could be the individual referred to by Gauḍapāda as द्विपदां वर, if Buddha is out of the picture? Ānandagiri, as mentioned above, thinks of नारायण as the suitable choice. The traditional गुरुपरम्परा venerated in the Śaṅkara Pīṭhas is as follows:—

ॐ नारायणं पद्मभवं वसिष्ठं शक्तिं च तत्पुत्रपराशरं च ।
व्यासं शुकं गौडपदं महान्तं गोविन्दयोगीन्द्रमथास्य शिष्यम् ॥

नारायण is here shown as the first traditional teacher of Advaita Vedānta, so Ānandagiri's choice cannot be regarded as unreasonable. We however think that Gauḍapāda in IV. 1 is thinking of his direct teacher viz. शुक.

(1) It is quite natural that an author should salute his direct teacher in his work.

(2) Śuka is certainly known to have been a great Yogin; though we may not believe in the traditional legends about him.

(3) The Yogavāsiṣṭha[1] devotes one whole Sarga (II. 2) in describing his greatness. He is said there to be even greater than Janaka who was greater than Vyāsa. After being in the Nirvikalpa-samādhi for 10010 years, he secured Mokṣa on the peak of the Meru mountain.

The expression द्विपदां वर is used in the MBh, and need not be regarded as a typical Buddhist term applicable only to Buddha;

व्यासादधिक एवाहं व्यासशिष्योऽसि तत्सुतः ।
भोगेच्छातानवेनेह मत्तोऽप्यत्यधिको भवान् ॥ ४० ॥
वीतशोकभयायासो निरीहश्छिन्नसंशयः ।
जगाम शिखरं मेरोः समाध्यर्थमनिन्दितम् ॥ ४३ ॥
तत्र वर्षसहस्राणि निर्विकल्पसमाधिना ।
दश स्थित्वा शशामासावात्मन्यस्नेहदीपवत् ॥ ४४ ॥
(Yogavāsiṣṭha II).

even if it be so regarded, Gauḍapāda could be said to have deliberately applied it to शुक to show that in his opinion Buddha was not the proper द्विपदां वर.

(4) It is inconceivable that शङ्कर who is described as

बौद्धादिकुध्वान्ततमसां खलु चण्डभानुः

... ...

भूमण्डले विजयते यतिसार्वभौमः ॥

in the traditional salutation formula by the Advaitins, should have his परमगुरु (Gauḍapāda) saluting बुद्ध.

On these grounds, we think that the द्विपदां वर is शुकाचार्य the direct teacher of गौडपाद.

It is clear that the अजातिवाद् which is the out-standing contribution of Gauḍapāda to Indian philosophical thought, owes hardly anything solely to Buddhistic philosophical ideas. Gauḍapāda had ample material in the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā to base his अजातिवाद् upon. He had undoubtedly mastered Buddhist philosophy in all its details and was influenced by the Laṅkāvatāra in particular, but this only resulted in his delivering forcible thrusts against Buddhism with greater effect. The Laṅkāvatāra sūtra[1] tells us that it contains the doctrine of धर्माणां नैरात्म्य taught by धर्मराज (Buddha). Gauḍapāda is thus on a firm ground when he declares in Kārikā IV. 99, that his doctrine of अजातिवाद् and परमात्माद्वैत was *not* taught by Buddha.

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1 नैरात्म्यं यत्र धर्माणां धर्मराजेन देशितम् ।
लङ्कावतारं तत्सूत्रमिह यत्नेन लिख्यते । opening stanza.

THE ŚAṄKHĀYANA-ŚRAUTASŪTRA
BEING THE MAJOR YĀJÑIKA
TEXT OF THE ṚGVEDA

Translated into English for the first time

BY

W. Caland; Raghu Vira; Lokesh Chandra

[The late Prof. Dr. Caland started translating the Śāṅkhāyana soon after the completion of his German translation of the Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra. In between came the Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa. Professor Caland had just finished the first draft of the English translation of Śāṅkhāyana chapters I-XVI, when in 1931 he was laid down in bed by a severe attack of heart disease which had haunted him throughout his life, never allowing him even to undertake a journey by train. In 1932 he passed away. Prof. Caland was the most eminent Vedic ritualist of the West.

Before passing away Prof. Caland had willed that his incomplete works, namely, Kāṇvīya Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (editio princeps), Vārāhaśrauta, Vārāhaśrauta Pariśiṣṭas and the English translation of the Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra, be revised, corrected, completed and passed through the press by me. Of these the first two have already been published (Lahore, 1933 and 1939). Subsequently I became engrossed in the production of a lexicographical work which should supply scientific terms for Indian languages. There seemed little chance of reverting to Vedic studies. So I entrusted the work to my son Lokesh, who has taken it up enthusiastically. Prof. Caland's manuscript is normally illegible. It has to be deciphered rather than read. His English partakes of the nature of German. It has mostly to be rewritten. References have to be verified. There are a number of question marks, and brief sūtra-like marginal jottings in Dutch. One has to attend to all these. Altogether it is a time-absorbing job. It will take years before the Śāṅkhāyana can be completed. The first chapter presented here represents the work of three generations, and I hope it will be found of some service.

Raghu Vira]

General rules of the (Vedic) Sacrifice

I. 1

1 We shall explain the (Vedic) Sacrifice.

2, 3 It appertains to the three orders: the Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya.

4 What is ordained (in this book) without restriction[1] is applicable to all.

5 Where a restriction is given, it differs.

6, 7 During acts which refer to the Gods the performer wears the upper garment over his left shoulder ; over his right shoulder, during acts which refer to the Fathers.

8, 9 From the sipping of water[2] onwards he should not separate himself from the rite with which he is concerned, nor go between.

10, 11 So is the specification of the mode of turning round.

12 It (viz. the sacrifice and the place of its performance) is approached from the left (or from the north-side).

13, 14 Acts which pertain to the Gods have the east as norm ; acts pertaining to the Fathers have the south as norm.

15 The rule for the Ṛgvedin is to be seated.

16 The standing position (is required), only if expressly stated[3].

17 Moreover, the Hotṛ should perform what is not assigned (to any of his assistants).

18 In groups of three or more than three verses, the first and the last must be recited thrice, except the muttering[4].

19, 20 Moreover, (in the recitation of such verses), at the place of the last syllable immediately after its first consonant, the lengthened sound *o* of three moras, either pure (i. e. unmodified, not nasalized) or ending in the sound *m*, (should be inserted).

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[1] e. g. the sacrifices of full-and new-moon appertain to all the three orders, because no special reference is made.

[2] This is the first act that the Hotṛ has to perform : Hir. XIX. 2 *klpte hotṛsadane ...... apa ācamati.*

[3] e. g. III. 13. 16.

[4] But no repetition takes place where it is said that a complex of three or more verses should be muttered, e. g. VIII. 15. 10.

21 This is called the praṇava[1] (the "humming" or "droning").

22 At the pause (the praṇava) ending in *m* (is inserted) in all groups of verses, comprising the inviting verses (the Puronuvākyās).[2]

23 Connecting by means of this (pure praṇava) the first half-verse or quarter-verse of the following verse he makes a pause. This (mode of recitation) is called "connected" (*santata*).[3]

24 This is the practice for all groups of verses, which are prescribed in connection with any act.[4]

25 Even in acts far removed from each other,[5] he (the Hotṛ) awaits for the sake of connecting, between the first verse and the concluding verse (*paridhānīyā*), with the half-verse (until the recitation is finished),

26 and the verses are resolved into (lit. follow the rule of) half-verses,[6]

27 except when stated otherwise.[7]

28 The (verses of the) Ṛgveda are recited in a loud place.

29 When it is expressly stated[8] they are whispered.

30, 31 For the words, the rule is that they sound together[9] and are monotonous.[10]

32–35 The praṇava is uttered on a higher pitch than the puronuvākyā; the yājyā on a higher pitch than the praṇava; the vaṣaṭ call is uttered either on a higher pitch than the yājyā or on the same.

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1 For examples see Hillebrandt NVO. pp. 77 ff.

2 See Hillebrandt p. 107: *apāṁ retāṁsi jinvati* (ṚV. VIII. 44. 16) becomes ...... *jinvatoSm*.

3 Cf. KB. XI. 5 beg.

4 Not for a simple muttering, which does not accompany any act.

5 E. g. at the *ātithyeṣṭi* of. CH. § 39–42; cf. also below VI. 10. 10 ff.

6 i. e. in the middle a pause is made.

7 E. g. VI. 3. 10 (commentary).

8 E. g. I. 15. 1.

9 The words of a verse are either all spoken on a low or middle or the highest pitch.

10 The accents, udātta, anudātta, svarita, etc. fall forth. Cf. Āśv. I. 2. 9.

36 The praṇava, the formula *ye yajāmahe*, the vaṣaṭ call, the sampraiṣas and the praiṣas are uttered loudly at the whispered offerings[1] (upāṁśuhavis).

37 And the name of the deity is whispered at the places of their insertion.

38, 39 The words *bhūḥ*, *bhuvaḥ* are to be muttered before (the yājyā); and the four (1) *ye yajāmahe*, (2) *vauṣad*, (3) *ojaḥ sahaḥ saha ojaḥ*, (4) *svaḥ* at the end of all yājyās[2].

40 In the anuyājas, (the formula) *ye yajāmaho* is not (uttered)[3].

41 Neither at the second vaṣaṭ-call[4].

42, 43 The vaṣaṭ-call is connected with the yājyā-verse, of which the last syllable is either lengthened (*pluta*), or not lengthened (*a-pluta*).

44 This (lengthening) is not applied at a whispered offering.

I. 2 (continued)

1 He should lengthen the syllable *ā* of the formula to bring the deity[5].

2 The formula *ye yajāmahe* before the yājyā-verses, has the lengthening at the beginning[6].

3 Of four moras is the lengthening (used) at the (Vedic) sacrifice.

4, 5 Of diphthongs the two palatals (*e*, *ai*) become (in *pluti*) *ā3i*, the two labials (*o*, *au*) become *ā3u*[7].

6 The other vowels remain unchanged,

7 and *e* and *o*, if they are pragṛhya.

8 At the end of a yājyā-verse [8]

9 the burring (riphita) visarga becomes *r*, [9]

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1 As the dīkṣaṇīyeṣṭi, V. 3. 4.

2 Cf. Hillebrandt, p. 95.

3 Cf. Hillebrandt, p. 137 note 3.

4 The anuvaṣaṭkāra; cf. CH. p. 209.

5 Cf. Hillebrandt p. 84: *agnim ā3vaha*.

6 i. e. *ye3 yajāmahe*, Hillebrandt, p. 95.

7 E. g. the verse ṚV. I. 22. 9 ending in *tvaṣṭāram somapītaye* (Śāṅkh. VII. 4. 9) becomes as yājyā ... ... *somapītayā3i vauṣaṭ*. The verse ṚV. X. 85. 47 ending *sam u deṣṭrī dadhātu nau* becomes ...... *nā3u vauṣaṭ*.

8 According to the commentary this restriction pertains to sūtras 4-12 (?).

9 E. g. the verse ṚV VI. 13. 2 ending *asikṣathā vāmasya deva bhūreḥ* Śāṅkh. II. 4. 7 becomes ...... *bhūrer vauṣaṭ*.

10 the non-burring (*a-riphita*) visarga is elided.[1]

11 The sound *m* becomes anusvāra.[2]

12 The other consonants (?, *vyañjanāni*) remain unchanged.

13, 14 The sound *au* in the vaṣaṭ-call and the sound *a* following *ṣ* (in the same word *vauṣaṭ*) are of four moras.[3]

15, 16 Either both sounds[4] (mentioned above) or only the first[5] remains unchanged.

17 According to Jātukarṇya (only) the sound *a* remains unchanged :

18 he should utter the vaṣaṭ-call in accordance with bṛhat and rathantara, long at the beginning, short at the end.[6]

19 After the formula *ye yajāmahe* the Deity should be indicated in the (rite) which is accompanied by a puronuvākyā.

20 But this is not done in a (rite) to which belongs a praiṣa.[7]

21 When the term 'he pours out' (*juhoti*) is used, ghee is understood (as the object).

22, 23 The word *svāhā* (is to be added) at the end of mantras used for pouring out (i. e. for offerings of ghee) and at the end of mantras which accompany the act of putting fuel-sticks into the fire.

24 By the difference of a mantra, difference of act (is (indicated).

25 The word *iti* stands at the end of a mantra.

26 The (sacrificial) act should be made to fall in together with the end of a mantra.

27, 28 He (i. e. the Hotṛ or his assistants) speaks the anuvākyā verse and the yājyā verse after he has been summoned (to do so).

29 These prescripts are meant for all sacrifices.

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1 E. g. the verse ṚV. III. 4. 9 ending *yuktagrāvā jāyate devakāmaḥ* (Śāṅkh. I. 15. 4) becomes *devakāmā3 vauṣaṭ.*

2 E. g. the verse ṚV. X. 8. 6 ending *jihvām agne cakṛṣe havyavāham* (Śāṅkh. I. 8. 5) becomes ...... *havyavāhā3ṁ vauṣaṭ.*

3 i. e. *vau3ṣā3ṭ.* 4 i. e. *vauṣaṭ.* 5 i. e. *vauṣā3ṭ.*

6 *Vau3ṣaṭ.* The commentary cites KB. III. 5 : *yad dhrasvaṁ tad rathantaraṁ, yad dīrghaṁ tad bṛhat.*

7 The commentary cites Śāṅkh. VIII. 8. 2. Cf. OH. p. 385.

THE FULL AND NEW-MOON SACRIFICES

I. 3.

1 After having fasted[1] (the sacrificer) performs the sacrifice at full moon.[2]

2 In the same way the sacrifice at new moon.

3, 4 There are two days[3] of full moon and two days of new moon.

5 The two days of full moon are : (1) the day on which the moon appears full about the setting of the sun, and (2) the day on which (it appears full) after the setting of the sun.

6 The two days of new moon are : (1) the day on which they remark "tomorrow it will not be visible",[4] and (2) the day on which it is not visible.

7 (The sacrificer) may perform the sacrifice on any of these days, according to his choice.

8, 9 The diversity (of the rites at the two sacrifices) is indicated by specific injunctions "this is at full moon, this is at new moon," or by words connected therewith.[5]

10 The rest is the same (for both).

11 The cake destined for Agni is common to both.

12, 13 The whispered-offering (upāṁśuyāja) (at both occasions) is destined for Agni-Soma or for Viṣṇu.

14-17 At the sacrifice of full moon the second cake is destined for Agni-Soma and at the sacrifice of new moon for Indra-Agni, in case he does not perform the sāṁnāyya ; but if he does perform the sāṁnāyya it is destined for Indra or Mahendra.

18 But he who does not perform (at new moon) the sāṁnāyya destines the whispered-offering for Viṣṇu.

I. 4.

1 The Hotṛ, being called upon (by the Adhvaryu)[6], comes between the utkara and praṇītā water and treads upon the grass (of the vedi) with his right fore-foot.

[1] Properly *upavasati* means : he passes (the night) in the vicinity (of the fires).

[2] Literally : he worships (the deity) with the Full-moon offerings.

[3] Properly "nights". Here the day is of 24 hours.

[4] *draṣṭā* is middle passive.

[5] E. g. the designation of the deities.

[6] It is only the Baudhśr. III. 97 : 98. 5 which expressly states : *havīṁṣy āsādya hotāram āmantrayate.*

2 His heel reaches the back side up to the end of the vedi.

3 He stands there with his feet asunder[1].

4, 5 When he has been summoned (by the Adhvaryu) to recite the verses for the kindling of fire he mutters (the formulas):

"Unto whom[2] shall I go?

"Unto him do I go.

"What is thy sheltering metre, O Prajāpati?

"Unto that I resort.

"What I know of thee, O Viṣṇu, that shall I do for thee.

"Impelled by divine Savitṛ shall I serve as priest.

"Obeisance to Agni the seer, to Vāyu the hearer, to Āditya who looks from on high.

"Today shall I speak words that gladden the Gods, that men are eager to hear, that bring svadhā to the Fathers, that are the support of the entire creation.

"I, the Praśāstṛ, approach Prajāpati with myself, my progeny, my cattle.

"May fearlessness be mine.

"I shall proclaim what belongs to Prajāpati.

"Speech shall be the priest.

"To Speech do I come.

"Our world! The other worlds!! The highest heaven!!!"

6 Then he pronounces thrice the syllable '*him*'.

(Cf. KB. III. 3.)

7-13 With this '*him*' he connects, reciting with intermediate voice, (the first kindling verse): (1) *pra vo vājāḥ* (III. 27. 1). Then follow the two tristichs (2-7) beginning with *agna ā yāhi vītaye* and *īlenyaḥ* (VI. 16. 10-12, III. 27. 13-15). Then the single verse (8) *agniṃ dūtaṃ vṛṇīmahe* (I. 12. 1). Another one is (9) *samidhyamāno adhvare* (III. 27. 4). At the Sāptadaśya rite (lit. the rite in which 17 kindling verses are used), however, three verses (III. 27. 4-6) are used. This is the case except at those sacrifices of full and new moon which contain an ayana[3] (?). And lastly the two verses (10, 11) *samiddho agna āhuta* (V. 28. 5, 6).

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1 Ānartīya: the right foot in front and the left behind.

2 or: unto Prajāpati.

3 As described later on in III. 8-11.

14 With the praṇava (of the last verse) he connects (the formula): "O Agni, thou art great, thou who belongest to Brahman, to Bharata".

15-18 Thereupon he utters the names of three ṛṣi-ancestors of the sacrificer from the remote end downwards[1]; six for one who belongs to two ṛṣi-families[2]; for a non-brāhmaṇa he takes the descent of his Purohita; or he uses for all: "Thou who belongest to Manu".

19 And reciting immediately afterwards (the following formula) he makes a pause:

"Thou, kindled by Gods, kindled by Manu, lauded by seers,
"Gladdened by Brāhmaṇas, extolled by the wise, sharpened by Brahman,

20 "Thou, who bears the butter to the Gods".

He again makes a pause after the formula:

"The leader of holy rites, the carrier of (some) sacrifices,
"The unsurpassed Hotṛ, the swift bearer of oblation

21 "(Thou art) the mouth-vessel, the ladle of the Gods,
"Thou, the cup from which the divine ones drink.
"As felly the spokes, O Agni, so dost thou encompass the Gods."

After this formula he again makes a pause[3].

22 He now summons the deities, making a pause after each summons.

vyavasyan = *vyavagrāham* of the Brāhmaṇa (III. 3 beg.).

1. 5.

1 "Bring hither the gods for the sacrificer."
This is the close of the nigada.

2 "Bring Agni hither, O Agni.
"Bring Soma hither."
These are (the summons) for two butter-portions.

3 "Bring Agni hither.

---

1 The names uttered are adjectival derivatives, put in the vocative, e. g. for one who belongs to the Bhṛgu clan: Bhārgava, etc.

2 By adoption.

For the pauses and divisions of words of the nigada see K. B. III. 3 end.

"Bring Agni-Soma or (if demanded by the ritual) Viṣṇu hither.

"Bring Agni-Soma hither.

"Bring Indra-Agni hither.

"Bring Indra or (if demanded by the ritual) Mahendra hither.

4 "Bring hither the ghee-drinking Gods.

5 "Bring Agni hither for the function of Hotṛ. (The reference is to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt.)

6 "Thine own greatness bring hither.

7-9 "Bring hither, O Jātavedas, and offer a good offering."

In this manner having summoned (the deities) he sits down with his knees raised and mutters, after having touched the earth with the span of his right hand:

"May I not be separated from this firm standing, O Mother Earth.

"Hurt me not, scorch me not.

"I shall think what is sweet, wish what is sweet, engender what is sweet.

"I shall today utter words sweet to Gods, dear to men.

"Here do I by means of the fifteen-fold thunder-bolt drive away my spiteful rival.

(When, however, seventeen kindling verses are ordained, he uses the words:) seventeen-fold thunder-bolt.

I. 6.

1, 2 When he hears (from the Adhvaryu) the word 'human'[1] he being chosen (as the Hotṛ) mutters:

"O divine Savitṛ, here they have chosen thee together with Father Vaiśvānara.

---

[1] The Adhvaryu addresses the Hotṛ:

"God Agni, the divine Hotṛ, may he worship the gods,

"He, the wise, the considerate one,

"Just as Manu did, just as Bharata, just as so-and-so (here the names of the ṛṣis are to be inserted),

"Just as Brahman.

"May he bring (the gods) hither.

"The brāhmaṇas are the guardians of this sacrifice.

"He (here the Adhvaryu whispers the name of the Hotṛ, and then says loudly) is the human (Hotṛ)".

" O Indra, Pūṣan, Bṛhaspati, speak forth and offer your offerings.
" May we share the bounty of the Vasus, and the favours of the Rudras,
" And be beloved of the Ādityas,
" Unobstructed to attain to boundless freedom.[1]
" What at the choosing of Hotṛ may escape the crooked eye this day,
" That may Agni bring back, Jātavedas, the nimble one ".

3 Thereupon he stands up[2] and mutters after having caught from behind with the span of his right hand the right shoulder of the Adhvaryu, as well as the right shoulder of the Āgnīdhra with the span of his left hand:

" At the election of the Hotṛ we lay hold of Indra as our Purohita.
" Through him the Gods ascended the highest heaven,
" The Aṅgirasas the sky.
" The sixty and ninety ties, O ye two Adhvaryus, are loosened between Heaven and Earth.
" They fetter the simple man.
" I, the wise, pass over them.
" These both, Heaven and Earth, are pleasant to me. "[3]

4 He relinquishes his hold (on them, with the words):

" May the six wide ones protect me from anguish; Heaven and Earth, Day and Night, Waters and Herbs ".

5 Then he turns along his right arm (as axle, with the formulas):

" I make the turn of Indra[4], I follow the turn of Āditya. "

6 Now he casts away to the south-west a dry blade of grass which he has taken from the (grass-)seat of the Hotṛ and has broken off on both sides, (with the formula):

" Cast away is he, who wards off abundance,
" Cast away is he, who hates me,
" And whom I hate ".

---

1 Reading with Āpś. and SB. *aditaye* for *ādityaḥ*.

2 Since 1. 5. 8 he was seated.

3 The verse occurs with variants in Āp., Hir., Āśv.

4 Here Indra refers to the sun.

7-9 Having touched water he lays down a green blade of grass (on his seat) with the tip directed to the north and sits down (with the formula) :

" Here do I sit down on the seat of the Wealth-bestower ".

10, 11 Having squatted with the right (knee) raised high and having stretched out his hands to the east he mutters, while fixing his looks on the Āhavanīya and Gārhapatya fires :

" Obeisance to Heaven and Earth, the primaeval Hotṛs.

" Ye All-makers, ye are the guardians of my life.

" Protect my life. Do not hurt me. Do not scorch me ".

12 Having moved slightly northwards he says : " This is your space ".

13 He then mutters (the three verses) :

" All ye Gods, instruct me. etc.

" May I today that part of the word, etc.

" Obeisance to the great ones, etc ".

RV. X.52.1, 53.4; I.27.13.

14 After the words— " May Agni as Hotṛ accept the Hotṛ-ship of Agni. May the deity be the right succour to thee, O sacrificer. "— he makes a pause.

15 Then he whispers : " Thou who hast chosen Agni for thy Hotṛ. "

16 Whereupon he urges (the Adhvaryus) to take up the two offering-spoons saying : " Take up[1], O Adhvaryu, the spoon which is full of butter, which is devoted to the gods, which is possessed of all boons.

" Let us praise the Gods, who are worthy of praise.

" Let us adore the adorable.

" Let us worship those who are worthy of worship ".

Then follow the five fore-offerings.

I. 7.

1 The first (has as yājyā the formula) : " The kindling-sticks, may the kindling-sticks, O Agni, accept the ghee offering. "

2 The second : " May Tanūnapāt, O Agni, accept the ghee offering. "

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[1] Or perhaps " throw into the fire ".

3 For descendants of Vasiṣṭha and Śunaka, Atri and Vadhryaśva, Kaṇva and Saṁkṛti, and for kṣatriyas and those who are desirous of obtaining progeny, the second is: "May Nārāśaṁsa, O Agni, accept the ghee offering."

Cf. Āśv. I. 5.21, 22; Baudh Pravarasūtra 54 (465.11 ff.)

4 The third: "May the Ids, O Agni, accept the ghee offering."

5 The fourth: "May the Barhis, O Agni, accept the ghee offering."

6 "*svāhāgnim, svāhā somam, svāhāgnim, svāhāgnīṣomau* or *svāhā viṣṇum,*[1] *svāhāgnīṣomau, svāhendrāgnī, svāhendram* or *svāhā mahendram,*[2] *svāhā devā ājyapāḥ*—May they, O Agni, graciously accept the ghee offering.[3]"

I. 8.

1 The two butter-portions (*ājyabhāgau*) at the sacrifice of full moon, mention the slaying of foes, etc. "Thou, O Soma, art the Mighty Lord, etc."

ṚV. VI. 16. 34; I. 91. 5.

2 At the sacrifice of new moon they speak of growing: "Agni has grown by his ancient, etc." "O Soma, we make thee grow by our praises, etc."

ṚV. VIII. 44. 12; I. 91. 11.

3 The two offering-formulas (*yājye*) are: "May Agni graciously accept the ghee offering."

4, 5 The inviting-verse (*puronuvākyā*) for the cake destined for Agni[4] is: "Agni, the head, etc.[5]", and its offering-verse is: "Thou hast become the leader of the sacrifice, etc.[6]"

6, 7 The inviting-verse for the whispered-offering (destined for Agni-Soma)[7] is: "Hear, ye Agni and Soma, my call, etc.[8]" And its offering-formula: "May Agni and Soma graciously accept the ghee offering."

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[1] I. 3. 12, 13. [2] Cf. I. 3. 14-17.

[3] Cf. KB III. 4 end. It will be noticed that in the fifth prayāja homage is paid to all the deities of Darśa and Pūrṇamāsa.

[4] Cf. I. 3. 11. [5] ṚV. VIII. 44. 16. [6] ṚV. X. 8. 6.

[7] See I. 3. 12. [8] ṚV. I. 93. 1.

8, 9 For the whispered-offering to Viṣṇu[1] : " Here did Viṣṇu stride out, etc.[2] " " I utter to thee the vaṣaṭ-call, etc.[3] " Or the offering-formula is : " (May Viṣṇu) graciously (accept the ghee offering) ".

10 (The inviting- and offering-verses) for the cake destined for Agni-Soma[4] are : " Agni and Soma, accept our prayers, etc. "[5]. " Ye placed these lights, etc. " [6].

11 (The inviting- and offering-verses) for the cake destined for Indra-Agni[7] are : " Indra and Agni, come with help, etc. [8]. " Ye surpass men in battle-call, etc. [9].

12 (The inviting- and offering-verses) for the sāṁnāyya [10] are : " Bring hither, O Indra, enduring wealth, etc. " [11]. " Great is Indra, full of men, etc. [12].

13 (The inviting- and offering-verses) " All prayers have caused Indra wax, etc. " [13]. " Rejoice with thy bay horses, etc. " [14] are destined[15] for a cake to Indra, if he is not substituted (by Mahendra).

I. 9.

1 The inviting-verse for Agni Sviṣṭakṛt is : " Delight the Gods, etc. " [16].

2 The offering-formula is : " Agni has worshipped the abodes dear to Agni. He has worshipped the abodes dear to Soma. He has worshipped the abodes dear to Agni. He has worshipped the abodes dear to Agni-Soma or to Viṣṇu. He has worshipped the abodes dear to Agni-Soma. He has worshipped the abodes dear to Indra-Agni. He has worshipped the abodes dear to Indra or to Mahendra. He has worshipped the abodes dear to the butter-drinking Gods. Let him worship the abodes dear to Agni, the Hotṛ. Let him worship his own greatness. May he make by sacrifice the food worthy of sacrifice. May he, Jātavedas, graciously accept through sacrifice the offering. That this day, O Agni, thou comest to men, etc. " [17].

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1 Cf. I. 3. 13. 2 ṚV. I. 22. 17. 3 ṚV. VII. 99. 7.
4 See I. 3. 14. 5 ṚV. I. 93. 9. 6 ṚV. I. 93. 5.
7 See I. 3. 14. 8 ṚV. VII. 94. 7. 9 ṚV. I. 109. 6.
10 See I. 3. 15. 11 ṚV. VIII. 6. 1. 12 ṚV. VI. 19. 1.
13 ṚV. I. 7. 10. 14 ṚV. I. 101. 10.
15 Cf. I. 3. 16 and Ānartīya : These anuvākyā and yājyā must be applied for a havis destined for Indra, devoid of sāṁnāyya, outside the New-moon.
16 ṚV. X. 2. 1.
17 Cf. the praiṣa in V.19. 22 and I. 5. 1-5. The last verse is ṚV. VI. 15. 14.

3 After uttering vaṣaṭ he touches water.
See KB III. 6 end.

I. 10.

1 (The Adhvaryu) smears (a small quantity of the iḍā portion) on the index finger of the right hand (of the Hotṛ), when he is going to call the iḍā ; (he smears it) on the upper and middle joints (of the index finger).

2 With (the formula) " Of thee that has been offered by the Lord of Speech I eat for sap, for out-breathing " he (the Hotṛ) smears his lower lip with the first iḍā portion (on the upper joint of the index finger). With (the formula) " Of thee that has been offered by the Lord of Mind I eat for strength, for up-breathing " (he smears) his upper lip with the second iḍā portion.

3 Then he touches water.

4-7 Keeping in his right hand the uttareḍā[1], and himself taking a fifth part[2] with his fingers, which are neither outstretched nor made into a fist, (he calls the iḍā) (all the while) holding it on a level with his mouth or his heart.

I. 11.

1 Before the calling of the iḍā he mutters the following formulas :

" Hither do I call the bṛhat together with the sky, the sun, the eye. May the bṛhat together with the sky, the sun, the eye call me.

" Hither do I call the vāmadevya together with the intermediate region, the wind, the breath. May the vāmadevya together with the intermediate region, the wind, the breath call me.

" Hither do I call the immovable world. May the immovable world call me.

" Hither do I call the moving world. May the moving world call me. "

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[1] The Brāhmaṇa XIII. 7 has the same expression. In other texts it is avāntareḍā : the iḍā which the Hotṛ holds in his hand.

[2] So the Adhvaryu makes four cuttings of the iḍā into the hands of the Hotṛ, and the Hotṛ makes a fifth one. The other texts differ. Only Āp. III. 2.6 has something similar, and Hir. XXI. 8 reads : " *svayaṁ hotā madhyato dvir ādatte.* " Hir. cites a Brāhmaṇa, which we have not yet been able to trace : " *na prasṛtaṁ hastaṁ dhārayed. Yat prasṛtam dhārayet prabhraṁśukā asmāt paśavaḥ syuḥ* ".

"Called hither is the friend, the food. May the friend, the food call me.

"Called hither are the seven hotrās. May the seven hotrās call me.

"Called hither are the cows together with the āśir milk. May the cows together with the āśir milk call me.

"Called hither is the milch-cow together with the bull. May the milch-cow together with the bull call me.

"Called hither is the word together with the breath. May the word together with the breath call me.

"Called hither is the word together with the mind. May the word together with the mind call me.[1]

"Called hither is the iḍā, the rain. May the iḍā, the rain call me.

"Called hither is the iḍā, the conquerer. May the iḍā, the conquerer call me.[2]

"Oh, called hither art thou. O Iḍā, accept me graciously.[3]"

(Instead of *he*, the other texts have *hek* or *ho.*)

I. 12.

1 Then he calls iḍā :

"Iḍā is called, called is iḍā. May iḍā call us.

"Called is iḍā who belongs to Manu, who is butter-pathed, who belongs to Mitra and Varuṇa.

"Brahma, fashioned by the Gods, is called.

"The divine Adhvaryus are called, called are the human ones, that they may promote the sacrifice, that they may swell the Lord of Sacrifice.

"Called are heaven and earth, the primaeval, the law-abiding, the divine, whose sons are Gods.

"Called is the sacrificer unto the subsequent God-worship, called unto a more abundant preparation of sacrificial gifts.

"May the gods here accept the offering graciously.

"To this he is called."

2 Having called (iḍā) he smells it.

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1 Only in Śāṅkh. and Baudh. 2 ŚB. has also this formula.

3 The last words are only in Śāṅkh.

3, 4 Between (the formulas of calling) iḍā, he inhales[1] four times, or for the fourth time at the end[2].

5 He then eats the uttareḍā with the formulas:

"Thou art iḍā, thou art delight, the dispenser of delight.

"Bestow upon us many children and happiness.

"O welcome one, may I find your favour; may I, being invited enjoy thy invitation.

"I eat thee for the splendour of my face, for the fragrance of my mouth"[3].

6, 7 After they (the four priests)[4] with the sacrificer as the fifth have eaten the other (iḍā).[5] They restrain their speech till the cleansing.[6]

8 They cleanse themselves inside the vedi over a vessel on which (two) grass-strainers[7] have been deposited, having recited the tristisch: "Here, O Waters, carry ye off, etc."[8].

9 When the Brahman's portion has been brought to him, they bring the anvāhārya (a mess of boiled rice).

10 This is the occasion when in all the iṣṭis the sacrificial fee is given.

11 In the case of iṣṭis where the fee is expressly prescribed, there is no anvāhārya-mess.

12, 13 After he (the Hotṛ) has muttered the verse "This, O Agni, is thy kindler. Mayest thou grow and increase by it. And may we also grow and increase" over the kindling-stick[9] the three after-offerings are performed.

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[1] Ānartīya: *avāniti=uchhvasiti*. Cf. KB. III. 7.

[2] In this case three times in between. Ānartīya: *Maitrāvaruṇīti prathama uchhvāso nirākāṅkṣatvat., vardhān iti dvitīya uchhvāsaḥ, putre iti tṛtīyaḥ, ante caturthaḥ. Yadā iḷāmadhye catur avānanaṁ tadā brahma devakṛtam upahūtam iti dvitīyaḥ.*

[3] The mantra occurs also in Baudh. and Hir.

[4] Hotṛ, Adhvaryu, Āgnīdhra and Brahmā.

[5] The iḍā in the pātrī. Cf. Hill. p. 126, ff.

[6] Ānartīya: *mārjanam mūrdhany, avaseko gṛhyoktatvāt.*

[7] See KB. III. 7. [8] ṚV. I. 23. 22–24.

[9] Which the Āgnīdhra has put on the fire on behalf of the after-offering. Cf. Hill. p. 135.

I. 13.

1-4 The (three) offering-verses for the after-offerings are:

(i) "The divine Barhis may accept (the offering) of abundant obtainment, of abundant gift".

(ii) "The divine Narāśaṁsa may accept (the offering) of abundant obtainment, of abundant gift".

(iii) "The divine Agni Sviṣṭakṛt, bestowing treasures, the charming Kavi, the true-thinking, worshipping Hotṛ, who worships better than any Hotṛ,

"O Agni, the Gods that thou hast worshipped and gladdened and who have rejoiced under thy Hotṛ-ship".

— here he makes a pause (and then continues)

"Make thou this Hotṛ-ship, which is bountiful, which reaches to the Gods in heaven, elevate this sacrifice among the Gods.

"And Agni Sviṣṭakṛt, (as) thou hast been (our) Hotṛ, accept (the offering) of abundant obtainment, of abundant gift at the Namovāka.

I. 14.

1, 2 When he (the Hotṛ) has been addressed (by the Adhvaryu with words ending with) "Recite the songs" (the Hotṛ recites the sūktavāka): "Here a lucky act has been accomplished, O Heaven and Earth. We have accomplished successfully a song of praise, and the utterance of worship. May we have success with the utterance of good words. Agni, thou art the voice of the blessing"—(Here) he makes a pause.

3 (He continues): "Through the listening of heaven and earth. At this sacrifice may heaven and earth be thy guardians, O sacrificer"—(Here) he makes a pause.

4 (He continues): "They who bring solace to the household, who distribute widely, fearless, inscrutable (?), possessing wide pastures, bestowing fearlessness"—(Here) he makes a pause.

5 (He continues): "The rain-skied, the water-pouring, the benevolent, giving pleasure, full of strength, full of milk, easily approachable, of good abode[1] — with their knowledge" — (Here) he makes a pause.

---

[1] Or, easily to be walked over (?).

6 (He continues): "Agni has graciously accepted the oblation. He has grown in strength. He has acquired greater power".

Ānartīya: Here and in the following sūtras a pause is to be made after each nigada.

7 "Soma has graciously accepted the oblation. He has grown in strength. He has acquired greater power".

8 "Agni has graciously accepted the oblation. He has grown in strength. He has acquired greater power".

9 "Agni and Soma have graciously accepted the oblation. They have grown in strength. They have acquired greater power".

10 Or (alternately) "Viṣṇu has graciously accepted the oblation. He has grown in strength. He has acquired greater power".

(Sūtras 9, 10 refer to the upāṁśuyāja, I. 3. 12, 13).

11 "Agni and Soma have graciously accepted the oblation. They have grown in strength. They have acquired greater power".

(Refers to the puroḍāśa of Full-moon, I. 3. 15).

12 "Indra and Agni.........power".

13 "Indra.........power".

14 "The butter-drinking gods have graciously accepted the butter offering......power".

(The formulas from sūtra 6 onwards are to be adhibited in accordance with the sacrifice to which they refer. Cf. Ānartīya: *yatheṣṭam vyavasthā*).

15 "Agni by virtue of his Hotṛ-ship......power".

(This refers to the oblation to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt. Ānartīya: *ataś ca pitṛyāyām ūhaḥ: agniḥ havyavāhano hotreṇa havir ajuṣatāvīvṛdhata maho jyāyo 'kṛteti*).

16-19 (He finishes the sūktavāka): "At this prospering sacrifice which goes to the Gods prays the sacrificer". Here he inserts the two names[1] of the yajamāna, and "prays for future worship of the Gods, for more abundant offering, for long life, for abundant progeny, for a heavenly abode. What he prays for

[1] The usual name and the secret name, or according to others his nakṣatra-name.

through this sacrifice, may he obtain that, may that prosper, may the Gods grant him that. May the God Agni solicit that for the Gods, and we men from Agni. What has been offered and accepted, and also the Heaven and Earth may guard him from anguish. Hither [1] be the course of the boon, and this homage (shall be offered) to the Gods".

20 Having placed on the strew (of the vedi) his clasped hands (añjali) (pointing eastwards), he mutters "For homage".[2]

21 When he has been addressed (by the Adhvaryu) with (the words) "Say the all-hail and the blessing[3]" he speaks (the verse): "We long for that all-hail and blessing". After that he touches water.[4]

22-24 Beginning with the formula by which the Hotṛ urges the Adhvaryu to take up the sacrificial ladles [5] up to the end of the sacrifice of butter-portions, [6] (all is spoken by the Hotṛ) in a low tone, afterwards in the intermediate tone, from the after-offerings [7] on in a loud tone.

I. 15.

1 In the Gārhapatya they perform the Patnī-saṁyājas in a low voice (inaudibly).

2 He worships Soma, Tvaṣṭṛ, the wives of the Gods and Agni Gṛhapati.

3 For one (a sacrificer) who is desirous of progeny they worship Rākā and Sinīvālī before Agni Gṛhapati.

4 (The opening words of the inviting- and offering-verses are):

"Let them grow. Let the drinks gather in thee".
(For Soma).

"Hither I call Tvaṣṭṛ. That procreant strength for us".
(For Tvaṣṭṛ).

"May the Wives of the Gods help us. And may the women accept us." (For the Wives of the Gods).

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1 MS. and Āśv. also *eha*, the Taittirīyas *iha*.
2 KB. III. 8.
3 See e. g. Āp. III. 7.10, Hill. NVO. p. 148.
4 ṚV. Khila V. 1.5, the last verse of the Bāṣkala ṚV.
5 Cf. I. 6. 16. 6 Cf. I. 8. 1, 2. 7 Cf. I. 12. 13.

"Rākā do I call. What are thy fair thoughts, O Rākā". (For Rākā).

"O Sinīvālī. She with well-shaped arms". (For Sinīvālī).

"Agni the Hotṛ, the lord of the house. We have made thee, O Agni". (For Agni Gṛhapati).

(The Verses are ṚV I. 91. 16, 18; I. 13. 10; III. 4. 9, V. 46. 7, 8; II. 32. 4-7; VI. 15. 13, 19.)

5 Having muttered (the verse) "Even as ye did set free the buffalo-cow, O Vasus"[1] he calls the iḍā.[2]

6 Or (as contingency arises[3]) he changes (the words of the nigada "Called is this sacrificer" of I. 12. 1) into "Called is this consort of the sacrificer."[4]

7, 8 The Patnī-saṁyājas end with the (ceremony of) partaking of the iḍā, or with the muttering of the śaṁyu formula.

(Either up to I. 12 8 or up to I. 14. 21).

9 With the verse "I loosen thee, etc.[5]" he first united the veda-bunch and then the cord (with which the mistress girdled).

10 He lays the cord and the united veda-bunch into the joined hands of the mistress.

11, 12 Whilst sprinkling water around (upon ?) the veda-bunch and the cord (still in the hands of the mistress) he mutters (the formulas[6]): "For desire thee. Thou art a bunch. Whereby thou, O bunch, hast become a veda for the Gods, thereby be thou a bunch for us. Veda art thou. Thou art gain. May I gain. Thou art the act. Thou art the deed. May I be able to act. Thou art the winning. Thou art the winner. May I win".

13 Over the veda he causes the mistress to recite (the verse): "May the veda-bunch bestow increase in wealth, that be rich in ghee, rich in houses, a thousand-fold, and strong".

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1 ṚV. IV. 12.6.

2 Cf. I. 10-12. This muttering rests on KB. III. 9.

3 At a sattra sacrifice during which the yajamāna has died.

4 For feminine *yajamānī* see Pāṇini IV.1.48.

5 ṚV. X. 85. 24.

6 The following formulas (Cf. TS. I, 6.4 v, w) are laid in the mouth of the patnī in other texts, and as no *iti* is found at the end of sūtra 12 we are tempted to combine them with sūtra 13, but then *japati* of sūtra 11 would float in the air.

14 She seizes some grass-blades (of the veda)[1] and brings them between her thighs.

15 With (the verse) "Stretching the thread, etc."[2] he strews (some of the grass-blades of the veda) to the north of Gārhapatya up to the strew (of the vedi).

16 With (the formula) "Abundance thou art, completely filling. Fill me with progeny and cattle" he addresses the rest of the veda.

17 Standing before the Āhavanīya he addresses it with (the two verses) "Grow through this holy text, O Agni.[3] Jātavedas has offered this sacrifice, the near one, having taken his seat before us,[4] winning the gain, loosen well (this rite). Bestow riches upon us, O Jātavedas".[5]

18 After he has touched water he (the Hotṛ) is discharged.

General Rules for Iṣṭis

I. 16.

1 The sacrifices of full- and new-moon, which have been explained (in the preceding sections), are the model for the unbloody (iṣṭis) and animal sacrifices (paśubandhas).

2 The designation "model" serves to denote "the agreeing with", "the following after".

3 The sacrifice which is performed between the butter-portions and the offering to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt is called "the insertion" (āvāpa). This is the chief act (in every sacrifice).

4 All the other acts are its auxiliary parts.

5 When the time of (performance of) these is uninterrupted, they help in the achievement of the object (?).

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[1] Cf. KB. III. 9: *tasmāt patnī vedatṛṇāny antarorū kṛṇute* Here *tasmāt* is a pure ablative and cannot well mean as Keith has it "therefore".

[2] ṚV. X. 53.6. [3] ṚV. I. 31.18.

[4] Reading with Āp. III. 13. 1 *asman* in place of *asmin*.

[5] There is a puzzle connected with this verse, the first half of which is cited in KB XXVII. 6, whilst allusion is made to the second half (ib.). This verse occurs in full only here. Āp. and Kāt. have probably taken it from Sāṅkh. The KB. presupposes the whole verse. But can the Brāhmaṇa be later than the Sūtra? With *āśiṣaṁ vadati* of KB. here cf. later on (III. 9) *āśiṣam eva tad vadate*.

6 This is designated "tantra" (regular and unchangeable order of rites ?).

Ānartiya : *yat sakṛt kṛtaṁ bahūnām upakaroti tat tantram.*

7 The mantra which is recited together with names of different deities is used for making offerings. (?)

(So that the mantra is repeated for every deity singly, e. g. in the Mitravindā III. 7.)

8 In case of change of deity, these inviting- and offering-verses are employed in which these deities are mentioned. (?)

9 And (at those places) in the prose recitations (where in the model, the prakṛti, the deity is inserted) this deity (which occurs in the change) is made manifest. (?)

10 At the summons (āvāhana I. 5), the last fore-offering (prayāja I. 7. 6), the formula addressed to Agni Sviṣṭakṛt (I. 9. 2), and the sūktavāka (I. 14. 21ff.) the deities, to whom worship is offered, are inserted. Therefore (these are called) "the places of insertion".[1]

11 Proceeding in due order we shall explain (the other) modifications.

12 When it is said "this or that rite is the modification of the full-moon sacrifice"[2] the two verses (to accompany the two butter-portions) contain mention of foe-slaying.[3]

13 When it is said "this or that rite is a modification of the new-moon sacrifice,[4] the two verses (for the same occasion as the preceding sūtra) contain the word "growing".[5]

14-16 If no such indication is given, they are optional, determined either by the deity[6] or by the havis.[7]

17 In case of a combination (of the deity and the havis) the determining factor is havis.

Cf. Āp. XXIV. 3. 47.

Ānartiya : *aindram ekādaśakapālaṁ puroḷāśaṁ nirvaped āgneyaṁ paya iti. tatra haviṣo balīyastvam. tatraindre puroḷāśe vārtraghnau, āgneye payasi vṛdhanvantau.*

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1 Cf. Mān. V. 1.8. 2 See e. g. II. 2. 4. 3 Cf. I. 8. 1.

4 See e. g. II. 3. 13. 5 Cf. I. 8. 2.

6 If, for example, a sacrifice for Agni or Agni-Soma is ordained, they should be *vārtraghnau* ; if a sacrifice is to Indra or Indra-Agni, then *vṛdhanvantau* thus the commentary.

7 If it be a sacrifice of vegetables, they should be *vārtraghnau*, if a sāṁnāyya, *vṛdhanvantau*— thus the commentary.

18 In case of doubt the determinant is the common practice.

This sūtra does not relate to the butter-portions. It is of general application.

Cf. III. 13. 23.

19, 20 Likewise the number of the enkindling verses in iṣṭis and paśubandhas is (always) seventeen[1], except where otherwise prescribed.[2]

21 In the iṣṭis or paśubandhas, which are undertaken to reach a particular aim, the havis is offered in whispers.

Cf. Hir. XXII. 3 (*kāmyā iṣṭaya*) *upāṁśutantrāḥ*; also Āp. XXIV. 3. 31.

22 In due course we shall explain (further).

I. 17

1 In a treatment of a precept for (the offering of) sacrificial substances the beginning words of the verses are given (and they indicate) the inviting- and the offering- verses, if not restricted to another aim.[3]

2 If two or more (verses) are prescribed, (then they are to be adhibited) in the order of the direction;[4]

3 or according to the deity;

4 or according to the characteristic.[5]

5 When the deities are provided with their eponymics,[6] and he does not find (the yājyānuvākyās that are to be adhibited), he should be satisfied by the daivata in its characteristic mark.

6 When they are provided with their eponymics, they (i. e. the deities) are revealed (in the nigamas).

7 The sacrificial substance is constantly prescribed for every deity; (hence) the inviting- and offering- verses which have been once (lit. first) indicated, should be adhibited everywhere.

8 And it is not possible to enumerate separately (all) the iṣṭis.

9, 10 In those where no inviting- and offering- verses are prescribed, he should seek a gāyatrī (as anuvākyā) and a triṣṭubh verses (as yājyā) addressed to the deity (to whom the kāmyeṣṭi

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1 Cf. I. 4. 12, KB. I. 1.   2 E. g. III. 8. 2.

3 The commentary refers to II. 3. 9-10.

4 The commentary cites as example Śāṅkh. XIV. 51. 14 (Ṛ V. IV. 8. 1. ff.)

5 E. g. Śāṅkh. XV. 8. 7 (Ṛ. V. I. 27. 11)

6 Thus Br.

is addressed); [1] or (any other verses) except in uṣṇih or bṛhat metre.

11, 12 But the offering verses should be longer than the inviting verse or both should be of equal length. [2]

13-15 (If he does not find these) he may take (verses) in which one of the following characteristics occurs:— "I call", "We call", "Hear Thou", "Come thou hither", "Take thy seat on this straw", or the name of the deity — these are the characteristics of the inviting verses. "Eat thou", "Drink thou," "Accept graciously", "Rejoice", "Pour in for thyself", "Accept", "forth" and the name of the deity — these are the characteristics of the offering verses.

16, 17 The inviting verse has the characteristic mark (the name of the deity) in the fore-part, the offering verse has it in the last part.[3]

18-19a If he cannot find verses addressed to the deity (for whom the sacrifice is destined), he should use the two namrā [4] (verses) as anuvākyā and yājyā: "Hear thou this call, now that we call thee with our prayer. Be seated on this our strew". "Approach in due order the strewn barhis. Come today here to us who implore (thee). With a unhostile mind delight in this (offering). Accept our oblation which has been presented and offered".[5]

19b He should adapt these verses in case the sacrifice is intended for two or more deities.

20 Or (in case of two or more deities) he may alter the original verses (by substituting the singular by the dual or the plural).

(Here ends the first adhyāya)

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1 Cf. TS. II. 6. 2. 5-6. 2 Cf. Āśv. II. 14. 21.

3 Cf. TS. II. 6. 2. 3-4.

4 These verses are designated as *namrā*: or "inclineable" because they can be easily (i. e. without spoiling the metre) changed so that a duality or plurality of Gods is addressed by them.

5 The text of the last can hardly be right (Āśv. II. 14. 30). A single deity is addressed but the text has the opt. pl. *āsadeta*. With *upelānā* we expect an accusative.

POROS

BY

BUDDHA PRAKASH

Among the kings, who came into contact with Alexander the Great, Poros has a unique position. He fought with him unto the last and ultimately made an honourable peace with him. Tall and stately in person, brave and courageous at heart, foremost in darting his javelins at the enemy and a great terror on the field of battle, he made such a deep impression on the mind of the Macedonian conqueror, that he decided to make friends with him instead of risking a fight to the finish. Thus, he presents a striking contrast to the other antagonists of Alexander, who either flew from the battle-field or submitted to his behests or hugged him as their supporter. Hence the historians of Alexander have given a special place to him in their histories. Here I am going to write his history and evaluate the part, that he played in the events of his time.

I

The Dynasty of Poros

Poros is a dynastic name. The nephew of Poros is also called Poros by Greek writers. About the first century B. C. there was another Poros, who sent an embassy to the court of Augustus Caesar, as we learn from Strabo. The Sanskrit equivalent of the word 'Poros' is 'Puru', which is the name of an old Aryan clan. We learn from Vedic literature that the Purus were the progenitors of the Kurus. The *Ṛgveda*[1] describes a Kuru king

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[1] IV, 38, 1 ; VII, 19, 3.

named Kuru-śravaṇa as a descendant of Trāsadasyu who belonged to the clan of the Purus. The word 'puru' connotes the idea of abundance and multitudinousness. It occurs in the Avesta, as "pouru" and in the inscriptions of the Achaemenian emperors of Iran as "parū".[1] The clan of the Purus appears to have acquired this name by virtue of their overwhelming numbers and irresistible might. The occurrence of the word 'puru' in Indo-Iranian literature shows that the clan bearing this name was known in Iran as well as in India in fairly early times. The sweeping tide of Aryan Volkerwanderung spread the Purus from the regions of Iran up to the heart of India. When the migratory period of Aryan clans changed into the era of settlement, the countless small stocks of the Saṁhitā age merged into the greater peoples mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas. Professor Oldenberg observed that the Bharatas and probably their old enemies, the Purus, mixed among the Kurus, who came to occupy the regions between the Sarasvatī and the Dṛṣadvatī in course of time.[2] But some sections of the Purus escaped this process of racial amalgamation and kept their identity intact in the North-Western regions. The *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira associates the Pauravas with the peoples of Takshashilā (Taxila) and Puṣkalāvati (Peukelaotis, modern Pakholi in the neighbourhood of Peshawar according to Wilson and Abbott and Parang and chārsade, 17 miles to the North-West of this city according to Cunningham) and locates them in the vicinity of the Mālavas and Madrakas.[3] The *Mahābhārata* refers to the city of the Pauravas, which was adjacent to the republics

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[1] Cf Naksh-i-Rustam inscription of Darius I in Sukumar Sen; *Old Persian Inscriptions* p. 92. There the word 'Parū'nām occurs as a common noun meaning 'many'.

[2] Hermann Oldenberg: *Buddha* pp. 409-10; History and Culture of the Indian people Vol. I (The Vedic Age) pp. 252-253.

[3] *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* IV, 26-27.

तक्षसिलपुष्कलावतकैलावतकण्ठधानाश्च ।
अम्बरमद्रकमालवपौरवकच्छारदण्डपिङ्गलकाः ॥

of the Utsavasanketas and the territory of Kashmīra.[1] Thus it appears that the Pauravas were settled in the North-West.

It is likely that Purūravas Aila, the son of a ruler who migrated from Bālhi (Bactria) in Central Asia to mid-India[2], had something to do with the Pauravas settled in the North-West. He is said to have lived with his wife Urvaśī at a place named 'Nandan'[3], which has been identified by Sir Aurel Stein with the mountainous territory of that name situated right above a difficult path in the eastern part of the salt Range on the bank of the Jhelum[4]. In this way, the Aila conqueror is associated with that very region in which Poros had a hard contest with Alexander in the 4th century B. C. Thus Poros belonged to the old and powerful clan of the Purus which had played a leading part in the Aryan Volkerwanderung in India.

II

The Identity of the Pauravas and Parvatakas

The Pauravas inhabited a rugged and mountainous country.

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1 Mahābhārata II, XXVII, 15-17.

जिगाय सेनया राजन् पुरं पौरवरक्षितम् ।
पौरवं युधि निर्जित्य दस्युपर्वतवासिनः ।
गणानुत्सवसंकेतानजयत्सप्त पाण्डव ॥
ततः काश्मीरकान्वीरान्क्षत्रियान्क्षत्रियर्षभ ।
व्यजयल्लोहितं चैव मण्डलैर्दशभिः सह ॥

2 *Rāmāyaṇa* VII, 90, 21-22-23.

3 *Vāyu-Purāṇa* ch. 90.

वने चैत्ररथे रम्ये तथा मन्दाकिनीतटे ।
अलकायां विशालायां नन्दने च वनोत्तमे ॥
गन्धमादनपादेषु मेरुशृङ्गे नगोत्तमे ।
उत्तरांश्च कुरून्प्राप्य कलापग्राममेव च ॥
एतेषु वनमुख्येषु सुरैराचरितेषु च ।
उर्वश्या सहितो राजा रेमे परमया मुदा ॥

4 Sir Aurel Stein: *Archaeological Survey in North Western India*, p. 25.

Hence they were counted among the Parvatīyas (mountaineers) mentioned by ancient writers among the peoples of the North-West. Pāṇini includes 'Parvata' in the Takṣaśilādigaṇa[1] and Greek writers refer to the settlements of the Parvatīya people beyond the borders of India. Herodotus (I, 101) states that the Paraitakenai occupied a mountainous part of Media; Isidoros of charax says that another tribe of the same name lived betweên Drangiana and Arachosia, and Arrian writes that the Paraitakenai (Paraitakai)[2] inhabited the country to the east of Baktra and Sogdiana. They had a great rôck-fortress which was in the occupation of their chief Khorienês (choriênês). When Alexander invaded this fortress, Oxyartes persuaded Khorienês to submit to him. But the surrender of this chief did not damp the spirit of independence of these people. Hence Alexander sent Krateros against the Paraitakenai who were holding out against him under their chiefs Katanês and Austanês. Krateros had a severe struggle with these people.[3] Thus, we see that the Parvatīyas were far-flung in the North-West.

We learn from the *Mahābhārata* that the Purus were the leading tribe of the Parvatīya group. When Arjuna marched against Paurava, he encountered the stiff resistance of the Parvatīya warriors and after defeating them in a battle he proceeded towards

[1] Pāṇini IV, 2, 143 सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञौ Cf. Gaṇapāṭha under तक्षशिलादि,
Cf. Pāṇini IV, 3, 93 आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते.

[2] Hillebrandt has identified the Paruetae or Parautai of Gedrosia or Aria mentioned by Ptolemy with the Pārāvatas mentioned in the Ṛgveda. [*Vedische Mythologie* Vol. I, pp. 94-97; *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I, p. 87; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture* p. 3]. The word Pārāvata appears to be a variant of Parvataka or Parvatīya, for both of these are synonymous. Dr. Motichandra doubts this identification and holds that Paraitakenai or Paraitakai stands for the Para-taṅgaṇas mentioned in the Mahābhārata [*Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata* p. 80]. But he adduces no evidence in support of his view. Should we consider the forms Paratakai, Paruetai and Parautai, we shall be driven to conclude that their equation with Parvata is most natural. As for the Paraitakenai, the suffix 'nai' in it recalls that in Assakenoi and Aṣṭakenoi which stand for the Ashvakas and Aṣṭakas respectively. Hence it would be implausible to connect the 'na' of this word with the nasal in 'para-taṅgaṇa'.

[3] J. W. M'crindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* p. 57.

the capital of that country, which was "guarded by Paurava".[1] Here it is noteworthy that Paurava is used in singular while Parvatīya is used in plural. According to a sūtra of Pāṇini,[2] Paurava means the king of the Purus. It appears that the Puru king ruled over the Parvatīya people. Hence Arjuna planned his expedition against the Puru king, for by defeating him he could easily become the master of the country of the Parvatīyas. Had it been otherwise, the author of the *Mahābhārata* would have described him as marching against the Parvatīya people instead of proceeding towards Paurava.

The Pārvatīyas had a republican form of government (गणराज्य) as we learn from the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa. After defeating them Raghu worsted the Utsavasanketas and humbled the Kinnaras.[3] The Kinnaras were associated with the region now known as Kanaur and included in the Kashmīra state. Thus we see that the Kinnaradeśa of the Raghuvaṁśa corresponds to Kashmīra of the Mahābhārata. In the former, the Utsavasaṅketas and Kinnaras come after the Parvatīyas; in the latter, these people and the Kāshmīras come after the realm of Paurava.[4]

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1 Mahābbārata II, 27, 14–15.

स तैः परिवृतः सर्वैर्विश्वगश्वं नराधिपम् ।
अभ्यगच्छन्महातेजाः पौरवं पुरुषर्षभः ॥
विजित्य चाहवे शूरान्पर्वतीयान्महारथान् ।
जिगाय सेनया राजन् पुरं पौरवरक्षितम् ॥

(पौरव is described as विश्वगश्व that is "surrounded by horses. Here 'Aśva' may signify the Aśvakāyanas, who were the neighbours of Paurava).

2 Pāṇini IV, 1, 168

जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादञ् ।
क्षत्रियसमानशब्दाज्जनपदात्तस्य राजन्यपत्यवत् ॥

पूरोरण् ।

3 *Raghuvaṁśa* IV, 77–78

तत्र जन्यं रघोर्घोरं पर्वतीयैर्गणैरभूत् ।
नाराचक्षेपणीयाश्मनिष्पेषोत्पतितानलम् ॥
शरैरुत्सवसंकेतान् स कृत्वा विरतोत्सवान् ।
जयोदाहरणं बाह्वोर्गापयामास किन्नरान् ॥

4 Pāṇini also places 'Parvata' near 'Kinnara' in the Takṣaśilādigaṇa, which is as follows:—

तक्षसिला, वत्सोद्धरण, कैर्मेदुर, ग्रामणी, छगल, क्रोष्टुकर्ण, सिंहकर्ण, संकुचित, किन्नर, काण्डधार, पर्वत, अवसान, बर्बर, कंस ।

Thus Parvatīya and Paurava belong to the same regions. Even as late as the 7th century A. D. Hiuen-Tsang called the territory east of the Jhelum, which was occupied by Poros at the time of Alexander's invasion as ' Parvata '. This shows that the Purus and the Parvatīyas lived in the region called ' Parvata '. If Paurava was a tribal name, Parvatīya was a territorial designation. Hence the identification of Poros and Parvataka suggested by Drs. F. W. Thomas and H. C. Seth rests on very strong grounds.[1]

III

Political Conditions of North-Western India on the Eve of the Rise of Poros

In order to understand the rise of the Purus at the time of the invasion of Alexander it is necessary to cast a flying glance at the history of North-Western India in the later Vedic period. In the Vedic age the Punjab was the cock pit of the conflicts of various tribes, that migrated into India in successive waves. These tribes pressed towards the East and established their settlements in Mid-Indian regions. Hence the importance of the 'Sapta-Sindhu-Pradesh ' passed over to the ' Kuru-Kṣetra ' and the ' antarvedi ' of the Ganges and the Jumna. The Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads represent this stage of transition of the Aryans from the North-West to the middle country. In these texts the states of the North-West and the states of the middle country and the East are treated on an equal footing. We learn from these works that the chief states of the North-West were Gāndhāra, Kekaya and Madra. The Gāndhāra territory embraced the Rawalpindi district of Western Punjab and the Peshawar district of the North Western Frontier Province. The Kekaya country was situated between the Jhelum and the Chenab and comprised the territories occupied by Poros at the time of Alexander's invasion. Its chief city Rājagṛha or Girivraja, mentioned in the

[1] *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I, p. 471. H. C. Seth: *On the Identification of Poros & Parvataka* in *Indian Historical Quarterly* (June 1941) p. 173 ff.

Rāmāyaṇa,[1] has been identified by Cunningham with Girjak or Jalalpur on the Jhelum, in the neighbourhood of which the camp of Alexander was laid. According to the Jātakas, the kingdom and capital of the Kekayas were known as Kekaka after them and it was one of the three principal cities of Jambudvīpa. A branch of the Kekayas had migrated to the south and settled on the bank of the Māhṣimatī. Below the Kekayas were the Madras. Their capital Śākala (modern Sialkot) was situated between the Chenab and the Rāvi. In early times, the realm of the Madras was an important seat of Vedic learning and produced such eminent scholars as Madragāra Shaungāyani and Kāpya Pātanchala, tha teacher of Uddālaka Āruṇi[2]. The Madras also played an important part in the wars and confederacies of those times. Śalya, the king of the Madras fought in the battle of the *Mahābhārata* and rose to be the commander-in-chief of the Kuru forces after the death of Karṇa. But gradually their morals sank and their political prestige also waned. Below the Madras, the Uśīnaras lived along the approaches to the Madhyadeśa. Besides these principal peoples, there were other states and tribes like the Shibis. These peoples and states were swept away by the imperialist movements that started at the time of Gautama Buddha and culminated in the Maurya empire. In the North-West, Gāndhāra played the part, which was destined for Magadha in the East. The Jaina *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*[3] refers to the Gāndhāra king Nagnajit or Naggaji as an important king (bull of kings) who ranked with Dvimukha (Dummukha) of Pañcāla, Nimi of Videha, Karakaṇḍu of Kaliṅga and Bhīma of Vidarbha [*Jātaka* Vol. III, p. 377] and adopted the faith of the Jainas. In the middle of the sixth century B. C., Pukkusāti was the king of Gāndhāra.

[1] II, 67, 7

उभौ भरतशत्रुघ्नौ केकयेषु परन्तपौ।
पुरे राजगृहे रम्ये मातामह–निवेशने ॥

Ibid II, 68, 22

गिरिव्रजं पुरवरं शीघ्रमासेदुरंजसा ।

[2] *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* III, 7, 1.

[3] Ed. Jarl Charpentier XVIII, p. 45.

He was a contemporary of King Bimbisāra of Magadha and Pradyota of Avantī. Buddhaghoṣa[1] states that there was a friendly relation between Pukkusāti and Bimbisāra in token of which he sent an embassy and a letter to him. He also waged war with king Pradyota of Avantī and would have inflicted a crushing defeat on him had not the Pāṇḍavas, who inhabited the regions around Śākala in the days of Ptolemy launched an attack against him.[2] Nearer home, the territory of Kashmīra formed part of the Gāndhāra Kingdom as we gather from the *Gāndhāra Jātaka*[3] and the region between the Chenab and the Rāvi formerly occupied by the Madras, passed under the domination of its kings, for we find a tribe named Gandaris (Skt. Gāndhāra) living there at the time of Alexander's invasion, according to Strabo.[4] As already noted, Pukkusāti tried conclusions with the Pāṇḍavas, who lived in the Punjab and were probably menaced by his expansionist policy.[5] He also seems to have acted as a bulwark against the expansion of the Achaemenian power in the North-West. Nearchus informs us that Cyrus planned an expedition against India through Gedrosia but lost his entire army excepting seven men. If we study the political conditions of the North-West at the time of Cyrus, we find that the only power which was more than a match for the Persian monarch was

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1 *Papañcasūdani* (Singhalese edition) Vol. II, p. 982 cited by T. W. Rhys Davids : *Buddhist India* p. 28.

2 Felix Lacote : *Essay on Guṇāḍhya* (English translation by Rev. A. M. Tabard) P. 175.

3 Ed. Fausböll No. 406.

4 J. W. M'crindle : *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great.* pp. 111-112, 133.

5 The Pāṇḍavas, the Pandooui mentioned by Ptolemy as settled in the Punjab, are the same as the Prārjunakas or Ārjunāyanas mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta [H. C. Raychoudhury *Political History of Ancient India* 5th ed. p. 544]. According to the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, the Janapada of the Prārjunakas (Prājjūṇakas) was held in as much respect and esteem as Gāndhāra. Evidently this Janapada was near Gāndhāra [See Arthaśāstra III, 18, p. 191 प्राज्जुणक गान्धारादीनां च जनपदेपवावा व्याख्याताः]. The authority of the Arthaśāstra on this point is beyond doubt for its author is also said in the Mahāvaṁsaṭīkā (Vaṁsatthappakāsini) (P. T. S. Vol. I p. 181) to have been a resident of Gāndhāra. The proximity of Gāndhāra and the Janapada of the Prājjūṇakas renders it possible that Pukkusāti, while embarking on an expansionist policy, came into collision with them.

Gāndhāra. Hence it is not unlikely that it were the armies of Gāndhāra, which smashed the might of the intending invader. But the growth of the Achaemenian power under Cambysis and Darius I synchronised with the decline of Gāndhāra and the irruption of many exotic and outlandish elements in the Punjab. Darius I conquered Gāndhāra and annexed it to his empire[1]. The downfall of Gāndhāra gave an occasion to many foreign and indigenous tribes to carve out small states and principalities for themselves and thus fill the vacuum caused by the lapse of political authority. Jean Przyluski has shown that shortly before and after the rise of the Achaemenian power, many Iranian and Central Asiatic tribes entered into India probably as a result of the pressure of imperial authority. These tribes were collectively known as "Bāhlikas"[2]. It appears that in course of the movements and migrations of tribes, the Purus settled down between the Jhelum and the Rāvi in the seats of the Kekayas and Madras. One of their states lay between the Jhelum and the Chenab and the other between the Chenab and the Ravi. The decline of the Achaemenians after Xerxes and the weakening of their authority in their Indian satrapies of Gāndhāra and Sind (Sindhu) gave an impetus to the new tribes to strengthen and consolidate their power in the territories which they had occupied. Dr. A. V. W. Jackson has held that the Achaemenian sway in India lasted up to 330 B. C.[3] and Dr. S. Chattopādhyāya has shown that Artaxerexes II (404–395 B. C.) maintained intact the Indian empire created by the genius of Darius and his predecessors and that even Darius III (336–330 B.C.) excercised authority over it[4]. These conclusions are based on the presence of the Indian soldiers in Persian armies. But we learn

[1] Sukumar Sen : *old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 93-94 (Persepolis inscription of Darius 1).

[2] Jean Przyluski : *Un ancien peuple du Penjab : les udumbaras* in *Journal Asiatique*, 1926, pp. 11-13.

[3] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 341.

[4] Sudhākara Chattopādhyāya : *The rule of the Achaemenids in India* in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXV, No. 3, (Sept. 1949) p. 197. See also J. M. Unvala : *Political and Cultural relations between Iran and India* in *Annals of the Bhandarkar O.R. Institute* Vol. XXVIII, pts. 3-4, July-Oct. 1947, p. 174.

from Pāṇini[1] and Kauṭilya[2] that the Punjab was rampant with floating contingents of mercenary soldiers, who lived by the profession of arms and lent their services to those kings who paid them best. Such contingents of soldiers sought fortune under the Achaemenian emperors who promised rich prospects to their troops. Hence it is quite implausible to conclude on the basis of the presence of such contingents of soldiers in Persian armies that Persian rule actually prevailed in India. As a matter of fact the decline of Achaemenian power was so rapid and thorough that it is erroneous to think that the boisterous tribes of the North-West continued to cling to that corpse unto the last.[3] Commenting on the decadence of Persian art under the later Achaemenians Prof. Herzfeld observed that "Iranian art after Artaxerexes II shows an astoundingly quick decline, an unparallelled fall, to the point that even the mere technique was almost entirely lost. Old Persian art was dead before Alexander conquered Persia and with the art the whole culture died: this complete decay was the cause, the conquest was its consequence. The burning of Persepolis by Alexander was only the symbolic expression of the fact that the ancient East had died.[4]" Under these circumstances, the presumption of Persian rule in India up to the death of Darius III is quite baseless as there is absolutely no evidence to show that there was any vestige of Persian rule in India after Xerxes. It appears that sometime after the defeat of Xerxes in Greece the hold of the Achaemenians on the outlying provinces of their empire

[1] Pāṇini IV, 3, 91

आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते ।

Ibid V, 3, 114

आयुधजीविसङ्घाञ्ञ्यड्वाहीकेष्वब्राह्मणराजन्यात् ।

[2] *Arthaśāstra* XI, 1

काम्भोजसुराष्ट्रक्षत्रियश्रेण्यादयो वार्ताशस्त्रोपजीविनः ।

Ibid II, 35

समाहर्ता चतुर्धा जनपदं विभज्य ... ... ग्रामाग्रं परिहारकमायुधीयं ... ... निबन्धयेत् ।

[3] For a like view see: R. C. Mazumdar: *Achaemenian Rule in India* in *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol XXV, No. 3, Sept. 1949, p. 153, et. seq.

[4] E. Herzfeld: *Iran in the Ancient East* p. 274.

began to weaken. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar held on the basis of a passage in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa and the commentary of Śaṁkarārya thereon, that Kākavarṇa, son of Shishunāga, king of Magadha, who inherited from his father the empire of the whole of Northern India except the Punjab and Rājputānā, invaded the Punjab and conquering up to the confines of the Achaemenian empire, inflicted a defeat on the Persian satrap of Gāndhāra. But this invasion could not have any lasting effect for as Bāṇa and Śaṁkarārya suggest, Kākāvarṇa was allured by the Yavanas, by which term they mean the Persians, as Dr. Bhandarkar has shown, to the vicinity of a place named Nagar and assassinated with a dagged thrust in his neck. [D. R. Bhandarkar *Notes on Ancient History of India* in *Indian Culture* Vol. I p. 13 ff.]. This conjecture may not be historically true but the fact that the Achaemenian power was waning after Xerxes admits of no doubt. Almost at that time the Indian provinces threw off the yoke of the Persians and the tribes and peoples who had crowded the Punjab in the centuries gone by set up their autonomous states. In this period of conflict and turmoil the Purus pursued an imperialist policy and struck their blows at the neighbouring states. We learn from Greek sources that the Elder Poros[1] who ruled between the Jhelum and the Chenab was feared and envied in the surrounding areas. Taxiles, the ruler of Takṣaśilā, was his old enemy ; Abhisares, his powerful ally was sceptical of his friendship as was manifest from his indecisive policy at the battle of the Jhelum ; his own family-member, who ruled between the Chenab and the Rāvi was ready to welcome a foreign invader in order to put an end to his greatness and prosperity ; further south, the Kshudrakas and the Mālavas had

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[1] Dr. H. C Seth has suggested that the personal name of the Elder Poros was Devāpi on the basis of the following passages of the Purāṇas. *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* IV, 24, 45

देवापिः पौरवो राजा मरुश्चेक्ष्वाकुवंशजः ।
महायोगबलोपेतौ कलापग्रामसंश्रयौ ॥

Bhāgavata Purāṇa XII, 2, 37

देवापिः शंतनोर्भ्राता मरुश्चेक्ष्वाकुवंशजः ।
कलापग्राम आसाते महायोगबलान्वितौ ॥

Vāyu Purāṇa ch. 99, verse 437

देवापिः पौरवो राजा इक्ष्वाकोश्चैव यो मरुः ।
महायोगबलेपेतः कलापग्राममास्थितः ॥

Dr. Seth identifies Devāpi Paurava with Poros and Marū Aikṣvākava with Candra Gupta Maurya, see his चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य और एलेग्जेण्डर की भारत में पराजय (in Hindi) pp. 66-69. But this is only a conjecture.

just repulsed his attack and armed themselves to the teeth to guard their independence. But the power of Poros was steadily increasing and his destiny as a great monarch of India was fast unfolding itself.

IV

The Relations of Poros and Darius III

Poros had developed so much power that the Achaemenian emperor of Iran approached him for assistance in times of need. We learn from Greek, Syriac and Persian sources that Darius III Codomannus sought the help of Poros against Alexander the Great. According to the *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* and its Syriac version, Darius invited Poros to meet him with an army at the Caspian Gates and promised him half the spoil and Alexander's horse Boukephalas[1]. But Firdausi in his *Shāh-Nāmāh* gives a slightly different version of this episode. He says that in course of his flight after his defeat (at Arbela) Darius wrote a letter to Alexander in which he set forth his terms of peace with him. Alexander's response to this offer was very favourable but in the meantime Darius was struck with remorse at the thought of surrendering himself at the feet of a foreign invader and leading a life of an humble vassal. Hence he made another attempt to resist and repel Alexander and wrote a letter to Poros (Fur[2] in the Arabic and Persian Version) requesting him for succour and promising him a rich return[3].

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1 *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* ed. C. Müller Vol. II, p. 19.

The History of Alexander the Great being the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Kallisthenes edited & translated by Ernest A. Wallis Budge II, p. 11.

2 In the Arabic script the letter 'p' is written as 'f'

3 *Shāh Nāmāḥ* edited by Turner Macan Vol. III, p. 1279.

chū yāvar nabūdash zanazdīk-o-dūr |
yakī nāmāh banavisht nazdīk-i-Fūr ||
Pur az lābāh va sir dasti-o-dard |
nakhist-āfrīñ bar jahāndār kard ||
Digar guft k'ai mehtar-i-hindavāñ |
Khirdmand-e-dānā va roshan-ravāñ ||
Hamānā kih nizd-i-tū āmad khabr |
Kih mārā chaḥ āmad za-akhtar basr ||

(*continued on the following page*)

This letter shows that Darius had a high opinion of Pôros and pinned much hope on his assistance. In the dark hour of distress the prospect of the help of this Indian ally was the only ray of hope for the Achaemenian emperor. Poros made an immediate response to the request of Darius and sent his elephant corps to him. But Alexander came to know the arrangements of Darius and swooped down on his worsted rival with great force and alacrity[1]. Darius collected the remnants of his broken army and

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(*continued from the previous page*)

Sikandar bayāvurd lashkar za-rūm ।
naḥ barmānd mā rā naḥ ābād būm ॥
naḥ pevand-o-farzand-o-takht-o-kulāh ।
naḥ dihaim shāhī naḥ ganj-o-sipāh ॥
Garīdūñ kiḥ bāshī merā yārmand ।
Kih az kheshtan bāz dāram gazand ॥
Farastāmt chandāñ gohrhā za-ganj ।
Kazāñ pas naḥ bīnī tū az ganj ranj ॥
Hamāñ dar jahāñ nīz nāmī shavī ।
Ba-nizd-i-bazurgāñ garāmī shavī ॥

For English translation see the *Shāh-Nāmā of Firdausi* by Arthur George Warner and Edmond Warner Vol. VI, p. 51.

" As there was no one far or near to help,
He wrote to Fūr a humble, flattering letter
In deep distress and, having first of all
Praised God, said; ' Ruler of the men of Hind,
Thou man of wisdom, rede, and ardent soul !
Thou surely must have heard of my misfortune ;
Sikander hath led forth a host from Rúm ;
No corps or settlements or kin or children,
Or crown or throne or royal diadem,
Or treasury or host are left to us.
Now if thou wilt help me to keep away
Destruction from myself I will despatch
So many gems to thee out of my treasures
That never shalt thou need to toil for more
Moreover, thou shalt be renowned on earth
And held in honour by the great, "

1 *Shāh Nāmāḥ* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1280
chū Iskandar āgāh shud zān-i-sukhan ।
Kih dārābī dārā chab afgand ban ॥
Bafarmūd tā bar-kashīdand n'ā ।
Bar-āmad ghaukaus-o-hindi dar'ā ॥
Bayāvurd az iṣṭakhr chandāñ sipāh ।
Kih khurshīd bar-charkh gum kard rāh ॥

(*continued on the following page*)

tried to withstand the attack of Alexander. But his troops had no heart to fight with the buoyant hosts of Alexander. Hence many of his chiefs deserted him and sided with the enemy[1]. Only three hundred cavaliers[2] followed the king in his flight but finding him a broken reed to lean upon his ministers assassinated him[3]

(*continued from the previous page*)

Warners' translation Vol. VI, p. 51. " Sikander

On hearing what Dara, son of Darab,
Had done, bade blow the trumpet. There arose
The din of kettledrum and Indian bell.
Sikander from Istakhr led forth such powers
That sol was lost in heaven ".

[1] *Shāh Nāmāh* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1280

chū dārā bayāvurd lashkar barāh ।
sipāhī nah bar-ārzū razm-khvāh ॥
Shakistāh dil va gashtāh az razm sīr ।
Sar-bakht-i-irāniāñ gashtāh zīr ॥
Nayāvikhtand hīch bā-rūmiāñ ।
chū rūbāh shud āñ narrāh sher-i-ziyāñ ॥
Garāñ māyagāñ zīnhārī shudand ।
za-arj-i-bazurgī bakhvārī shudand ॥

Warners' translation Vol. VI, p. 51 " When Dara

Led forth his troops - no army bent on strife
But broken hearted & grown sick of war-
The fortunes of the Iranians drooped its head.
They closed not with the Rúmans hand to hand;
They were the fox, the Rúmans were the lion,
And all the chiefs asked quarter, having come
Down from their pride to deep humility. "

[2] *Shāh-Nāmāh* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1280

chū dārā chunāñ dīd bar-gāsht r'ū ।
Garīzāñ hamī raft bāh'ā h'ū ॥
Baraftand bāshāh sasad sawār ।
Az-īrāñ har-āñkas kih bud nāmdār ॥

Warners' translation Vol. VI, p. 51

" Dara saw, turned away, and fled lamenting
With him there went three hundred cavaliers
The noblest of Iran. "

[3] *Shāh-Nāmāh* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1280

chū shab tīrāh gasht az hawā bād khāst ॥
yake dashnāh ba-giraft Jānusayār ।
ba-zū barbarū sīnāh-i-shahryār ॥
Nagūñ shud sarnāmbardār shāh ।
Vazū bāz gashtand yaksu sipāh ॥

(*continued on the following page*)

and went over to the side of Alexander. Meanwhile, the elephant corps of Poros also arrived but it was too late.[1] The emperor who had staked his all in the expectation of this aid was no more.

In order to examine the correctness of the account of Firdausi, it is necessary to refer to the history of Darius III as we know it from reliable sources. Darius fought three battles with Alexander: the first on the banks of the river Granikos in 334 B. C. the second at Issos in 333 B. C. and the third at Gangamela and Arbela in 330 B. C. In all these battles the vast armies led by Darius crumbled before the onslaughts of the Macedonian forces and he took to flight in panic and confusion. At Issos when his cavalry on the extreme right was just on the verge of victory, his flight from the battle-field broke the morale of his forces and resulted in his crushing defeat. Likewise, at Gangamela, just as his cavalry on the right side broke the ranks of Parmenion and burst through the gaps to capture the enemy's

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(*continued from the previous page*)

Warners' translation Vol. VI, p. 52

" Night gloomed, a storm arose, Jānūsiyār
Laid hand upon a dagger, stabbed the king
Upon the breast, that famed head reached its fall,
And then the troops deserted, one and all."

[1] Vide the following excerpt from the letter of Poros to Sikander.

Shāh-Nāmāh ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1305.

Badāñgah kih dārā merā yār khvāst ।
Dil-o-bakht bāvī nadīdaim rāst ॥
Hami zindāh pīlāñ farastādmash ।
Hamīdūñ bayārī zubāñ dādmash ॥
Chū bar-dast āñ bandāh bar-kashtāh shud ।
Sar-i-bakht īrāniāñ gashtāh shud ॥
Za-dārā chū rū-i-zamīñ pāk shud ।
Tirā zahr barind'āh tiryāk shud ॥

Warners' translation Vol. VI, p. 112.

" When Dara asked help,
And I perceived his heart & fortune failing,
I sent him mighty elephants and gave him
Words of encouragement. When he was slain
By that slave's hand the Iranians' fortune fell,
And when earth's face was franchised from Dara
That trenchent bane became thine antidote. "

baggage, his sudden flight gave the signal of his defeat. Firdausi gives a correct account of these three battles. He states that the first two battles were fought on the Western side of the Euphrates, that Darius flew from the battle-fields, just when the issue of war hang in balance, that his flights spread such panic in his troops that they either flew or went over to the enemy and that Alexander treated the conquered country with great courtesy and considerateness. He thus avoids the error of the Syriac tradition that there was only one battle between Darius and Alexander,[1] and steers clear of the confusion of the Arabic historian Hisham bin Mohammad who, as quoted by Tabari, remarks that they fought for one year in Mesopotamia.[2] Firdausi is also correct in regard to the murder of Darius at the hands of his ministers. He again escapes the fallacy of the Arabic writers that the murder of Darius was encompassed with the connivance of Alexander.[3] Hence it is clear that Firdausi's account of Darius III rests on a better tradition than that of the Syriac and Arabic writings and his treatment of the episode of the request of Darius to Poros for military assistance, which accords well with the Syriac and even the Greek works cannot be rejected as merely fictitious.

Greek writers inform us that after the battle of Gangamela, Darius was making efforts to raise another army. When Alexander had captured Babylon, Sousa and Persepolis and was marching against the Mardians, he came to know of the efforts that Darius was making at Ecbatana (Hamadan) to fight once more with him. Hence he lost no time in moving against him to nip his efforts in the bud. But Darius was completely cowed down and fled towards Baktra to get protection under his kinsman Bessos. Firdausi states that he fought a battle with Alexander but was routed. While giving this information, Greek writers omit to mention as to what efforts Darius was making to collect fresh troops. Three times his armies had bore the brunt of the attacks of the Macedonians. His officers and generals were

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[1] Ernest A. Wallis Budge: *The history of Alexander the Great being the Sysiac version of the Pseudo-Kallisthenes* II, 9.

[2] T. Nöldeke: *Beitrage zur Geschichte des Alexander romans* p. 42.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 44-50.

killed or dispersed and their morale was completely crushed. Hence it is unlikely that Darius was dreaming of getting victory over his truimphant rival, who had routed him on three occasions, by means of his broken and disspirited followers. He had some other source of help which infused some hope of success in his mind. Considering the political conditions of Asia at that time we do not find any king other than Poros who could effectively assist the fallen monarch of Iran against a formidable invader. Therefore, it suits the context of events that Darius sought the assistance of the Poros and he readily agreed to give it.

V

The Indian Invasion of Alexander and the attitude of Poros towards it

As the forces of Poros could not reach Darius betimes and Alexander overtook him before he was able to put up an effective resistance, the fate of the Achaemenian empire was sealed. The murder of Darius removed the symbol of the imperial authority and the Greek conqueror felt entitled to wrest the sceptre of the Achaemenians from the usurper Bessos. After achieving this end Alexander thought of invading India, the North Western parts of which constituted the richest satrapies of the Persian empire. The fact that the Indian contingents of troops fought on the side of Darius and especially that Poros tried to help him by sending his elephant corps, might have chagrined Alexander and led him to invade India and defeat her warlike peoples. The peoples living in the North-Western parts of India, as seen above, had thrown away the yoke of the Persians much before the advent of Alexander. Poros was also on a look-out for some opportunity to conquer them, as his enmity with Taxiles shows. But they proved a hard nut to crack. When Alexander marched against them Poros chuckled at the prospect of their annihilation and felt confident that he would repel Alexander, should he enter his territory after defeating them. Hence he kept silent when Alexander struggled with these peoples but mobilized his resources to guard against a possible attack from him. Alexander defeated the Aṣṭakenoi (Hastikāyanas) whose chief Astes (Hastin) and Aṣṭakarājā ruled at Puṣkalāvatī, the capital of western Gandhāra,

reduced the Assakenoi (As'ivakāyanas) who offered him a stiff resistance, stormed the independent citadels of Bazira, Ora and Aronos the people of which fought him to the last, entered Taxila (Takshashilā) the metropolis of Southern Gāndhāra, whose king hugged him as a great support against Poros. Meanwhile, Poros was making brisk preparations to accord a warlike welcome to the advancing invader as is manifest from the arrangements of battle made by him.

VI

The Battle of the Jhelum between Alexander and Poros B. C. 326[1]

From Taxila Alexander sent an envoy named Cleochares to Poros to demand tribute from him and ask him to come to meet him on the frontiers of his kingdom[2]. Poros replied to this ultimatum in a stern and provocative tone and promised to meet him at the appointed place in arms. The correspondence that passed between these two monarchs has been given in detail in the *Shāh-Nāmāḥ*[3]. This left no alternative to Alexander but to march aganist Poros. He also learnt that the King of Abhisāra, who had sent him envoys, was advancing with an army for the help of Poros. Hence he made haste in order to prevent Abhisares from meeting with Poros. He took the lower route, which proceeded with an inclination to the south, to Dundhial and thence by

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[1] Arrian states that the battle of the Jhelum was fought in the month of Mounychion i. e., between the 18th of April and 18th of May 326 B. C. and E. R. Bevan accepts this view [*Camb. Hist. India* Vol. I pp. 361-362]. But at another place Arrian observes that at the time of the battle the rivers were swollen, " for the sun is then wont to turn towards the summer topic ". Thus, he makes the battle take place after the solstice of June 21st. Strabo states that the rains had set in. In India it usually happens towards the end of June. The description of the river and the weather clearly suggests that the rainy season had come. Under these circumstances, there is much to be said in favour of V. A. Smith's view that the battle was fought in July. [*Early History of India* 3rd edition p. 85 f]. But the matter is unsettled. All we can say with certainty is that the battle was fought between May and July.

[2] Curtius in J. W. M'crindle : *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* p. 203. (Henceforth, this work will be referred to as " *Invasion* " for brevity's sake).

See also *Shāh-Nāmāḥ* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1304.

[3] *Shāh Nāmāḥ* ed. Macan Vol. III, pp. 1304-5.

Asanot and Vang to Jalalpur, as we gather from the account of Strabo (XV, I, 32) and encamped on a six-mile long expanse on the bank of the Jhelum from Shāh-Kabir, 2 miles to the North-east of Jalalpur to Syadpur [1], four miles to the west-south-west of it. In the way he had an encounter with Spitaces or Pittacus, the governor of the territory in which the battle was fought [Arrian " *Invasion* " p. 107]. He sought to stem the advance of Alexander at the instance of Poros. But he could not withstand the onset of the Macedonian forces and had to fall back and join the main army of Poros. In the battle he was killed [Polyaenois IV, 3, 21].

On the other side of the Jhelum was the vast army of Poros. It was the rainy season and the river had swelled to immense proportions.[2] Hence it was very difficult for Alexander to cross over to the other side, for the armies of Poros were there to pounce upon him and frustrate his attempt at landing.

Small bodies of soldiers, however, used to swim to the rocky islands in the middle of the river with their weapons on their heads and fight there with the soldiers of the other side, while the rest of the toops gazed at their duals from the banks and judged the issue of the struggle from them. One day a party of bold youths led by two adventurous chiefs Symmachus and Nicanor swam to an island occupied by the Indians and wrought havoc in their ranks. But fresh reinforcements arrived from the bank and hemmed them on all sides. Most of them were killed in the rain of missiles that poured from all sides and such as escaped were swept by the fast current or swallowed by the whirring eddies [3]. Such incidents resulted in the alternation of joy and grief in the hearts of the belligerents.

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[1] Sir Alexander Cunningham : *Geography of Ancient India* pp. 157-179. V. A. Smith, on the other hand, holds that the site of the battle is represented by the modern town of Jhelum. [*Early History of India* 3rd edition p. 78]. E. R. Bevan holds that a point in favour of Jhelum is that it is higher up and Alexander seems to have kept close to the hills. [*Camb. Hist. India* Vol. I p. 361]. As a matter of fact it is impossible to ascertain the site of the battle with precision with our defective documents.

[2] Curtius : " *Invasion* " p. 206.
Arrian : " *Invasion* " p. 95.

[3] Curtius : " *Invasion* " p. 205.

Many days passed in this state of suspense. The banks of the Jhelum were covered with horse and foot, echoed with the cries of war-slogans and were made picturesque by towering elephants and sparkling chariots. Each side was extremely cautious of the other. The Greeks were on a look-out to steal a passage across the river and the Indians were bent on checking their landing by swooping upon them. Hence each side had spread the chains of sentinels to keep a strict eye on the movements of the forces of the other and communicate the news and orders, that were frequently passed. The Greeks made several shows of crossing the river but when the Indians assembled on the opposite positions to stop their landing, they gave up the attempt and dispersed. With these feintes they induced a belief in the minds of the Indians that they were not serious about crossing the river. In course of time the Indians relaxed their vigilance.

Meanwhile, Alexander found a suitable place for crossing the river 150 stadia (about 17 miles) away from his camp. There the river made a remarkable bend and from its bank rose a bluff densely covered with trees. Near this bluff was a deep ravine which served to screen the cavalry and the infantry. This place is, according to Cunningham indentical with the bed of the Kandar Nala to the north of Jalalpur. Facing this bluff was an untrodden island overspread with dense forest. Alexander moved thither with his army, 31,000 men according to Arrian, and prepared the galleys and hides for crossing the river. In order to divert the attention of the Indians at another point, he ordered Attlos, who resembled him in shape and appearance, to make a show of guarding the bank without any intention of crossing the river and asked Krateros to remain on that side till he had crossed the river and engaged the elephants of Poros in war, which terrified the horses by their roars and forms and impeded their orderly landing. He also left another body of troops with Meleager at a point half-way between the camp and the place of embarkation.

It was a stormy night. The heavens were thundering, rain was pouring and a blizzard was howling. In that dismal hour the daring leader of the Macedonians ordered his troops to cross the roaring river. The howl of the blizzard drowned the rattle of the

arms and the noise of the army and concealed the design of Alexander from the Indian forces. When the storm ceased, a pall of pitched darkness muffled the face of the sky and made sight inoperative. Hence he landed on an island mistaking it to be the mainland and drew his armies in battle-order. But finding that a channel of the river, which was immensely swollen by the rains of the night, rushed between the island and the mainland he searched a ford and waded through neck-deep water with difficulty. Meanwhile, news of the attempted landing spread in the Indian camp. Poros did not believe in it because he saw the other bank full of the armies of Krateros and thought that it was the real force of Alexander. He conjectured that his ally, the King of Abhisāra was approaching for his assistance.[1] But a reconnaissance party,[2] led by a son of Poros overtook the Greek armies while they were landing on the mainland. He was in command of 60 chariots, according to Aristoboulus and 2000 men and 120 chariots according to Ptolemy.[3] Curtius states that this army consisted of 100 chariots and 4000 horse and was commanded by Hages, the brother of Poros.[4] An encounter took place between the two forces and there was a severe contest. Arrian states on the basis of old authorities that in this battle Alexander himself was wounded and his horse Boukephalas was killed.[5] Justin writes that he fell headlong on the ground but

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1 Curtius: " *Invasion* " p. 207.

2 Poros does not appear to have taken the report of Alexander's landing seriously. Had be done so he ought to have despatched a better force, for there was no better opportunity to overcome the Greek armies than at the time when they were emerging from the river, wet and exhausted. A. E. Anspach [*De Alexandri Magni Expeditione Indica* (London 1903)] supposes that the son of Poros was already near tha spot when Alexander landed and that finding a larger body than he could engage with, he sent for help to Spitaces, who was holding a post opposite Meleager. Spitaces brought 60 chariots and 1000 horse.

Whatever the position may be, it is clear that the Elder Poros had no knowledge of the landing of Alexander till then and his son met the Greek force just by accident.

3 Arrian: " *Invasion* " p. 101.

4 Curtius: " *Invasion* " p. 207.

5 Arrian: " *Invasion* " p. 101; *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* (Branch A) also states that Boukephalas was killed in the battle of Jhelum.

his attendants rushed to his help and saved his life.[1] For sometime the issue of the battle hang in balance. It was difficult to say which side suffered more for the Macedonians were trampled down in the first charge of the chariots.[2] But the chariots stuck in the mud caused by heavy rains and the mobile cavalry of the Greeks soon overpowered them. The whole bank was so flooded with water that there was little to distinguish it from the current of the river. Hence many horses plunged in the river with the chariots and the drivers.[3] In this state of panic 400 horsemen including the son of Poros fell[4] and the rest of the forces were eventually routed.

It was, as a matter of fact, on hearing from the soldiers who escaped from the initial encounter that Poros was really aware of the landing of Alexander. He was labouring under the delusion that the regiments of Krateros represented the main armies of Alexander. But when he became sure of the advent of the enemy he proceeded to draw up his army in order of battle. He left some of his army (four or five hundred men and thirty-five elephants) at the opposite position of Krateros to keep an eye on his movements and led the rest to a flat field, where the ground was less plashy and undulated.[5] According to Arrian[6] he took with him 4000 horse 300 chariots 200 elephants and 30,000 foot. Diodoros[7] gives a bigger figure: 50,000 foot and 1000 chariots but he lessens the number of the elephants to 130. Plutarch[8] gives a smaller figure, 20,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry. Curtius[9] reduces the number of elephants still further to 85. It appears that the havoc wrought by the elephants in the Greek forces was so appalling that they were driven to magnify their menace by exaggerating their

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1 Justin: "*Invasion*" p. 323.
2 Curtius: "*Invasion*" p. 208.
3 Curtius: "*Invasion*" p 208.
4 Arrian: "*Invasion*" p. 102.
5 According to V. A. Smith the hostile forces met in the karri plain marked by the villages Sirwal and Pakral (*Oxford History of India*, p. 63).
6 Arrian: "*Invasion*" p. 102.
7 Diodoros: "*Invasion*" p. 274.
8 Plutarch: "*Invasion*" p. 310.
9 Curtius: "*Invasion*" p. 204.

number. The menace of the elephants led some later writers to invent the myth of iron steeds which Alexander made to counteract their attack.[1] The numbers of Alexander's army were not very far more or less from those of the army of Poros. He had no elephant corps but had a numerical superiority in cavalry [*Camb. Hist. India* Vol. I, p. 361]. A force of 5000 Indians commanded by Taxiles was also with him. [Arrian: "*Invasion*" p. 93]. Poros took some time to draw his armies on the battle-field and was attacked by the enemy just when he was finishing his arrangements. He placed his elephants in the front at the intervals of 33⅓ yards according to Arrian[2] and 50 yards according to Polyainos[3] and drew his infantry behind them in a compact line which protruded to fill the gaps between the towering beasts. On each end of the array he posted his cavalry and in front of it his chariots. Alexander adopted a simple and handy plan of operations. He divided his cavalry into two units, one he took under his own command to attack the left wing of Poros and the other under Koinos, he kept to his right[4] to fall on the rear of the enemy's cavalry as it moved from the right to meet his attack on the left. As for the phalanx he ordered it to wait till he had thrown the Indian ranks into confusion by the cavalry charges. Thus Alexander completed his arrangements very brisky and was the first to launch a fierce

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1 *Shāh Nāmāh* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1308.

Ba-asp va ba-naft ātish andar zadand ।
Hamāh lashkar-i-Fūr bar-sar-zadand ॥
Az ātish bar-afrokht naft-i-siyāh ।
ba-junbīd azāñ k-āhanīñ bud sipāh ॥

Warners' translation, Vol. VI, p. 116.

" They lit the naptha in the steeds;
Fúr's troops were in dismay. The naphtha blazed;
Fúr's troops recoiled, because those steeds were iron ".

2 Arrian: " *Invasion* " p. 103.

3 Polyninos: " *Invasion* " p. 346.

4 Droysen, Thirwall and Moberly held that Koinos was ordered to station himself opposite the enemy's right. [Moberly: *Alexander in the Punjab*, p. 61]. But Köchly and Rüstow in their *History of the Greek military system* point out that Koinos was placed at the extreme right wing of the Greek forces. Had he been detached to oppose the right wing of Poros he would have been too far from the operations.

attack on the left wing of Poros with an advance squadron of 1000 mounted archers under Tauron [1]. Seeing this the Indian cavalry on the right wing galloped to resist the onslaught of the Greeks. As they moved to the left Koinos pounced on their rear according to the preconceived plan. Caught between the two attacks the Indian cavalry hastily broke into two sections, one facing the attack in the front and the other resisting the charge in the rear. While they were busy changing their lines, Alexander fell upon them and threw them in utter confusion. Koinos also battered vehemently on the rear and the Indian cavalry took refuge behind the elephants.

Meanwhile, Poros made a dashing charge on the enemy with his elephants. His original plan was to move under cover of his elephants, first to frighten the enemy with the fiery assaults of these beasts and then to make a heavy carnage of them with the compact ranks of the infantry. This plan was analogous to the modern method of moving the infantry under cover of tank-fire. But the hasty attack of Alexander had somewhat upset his plan by routing the cavalry. Yet he strained his nerves to launch the elephant attack betimes. As the drivers goaded the furious animals towards the enemy, the infantry followed closely on their footsteps. The elephants frightened the horses by loud trumpeting and trampled the regiments of the phalanx under their massive feet. They crushed the armours and bones of the soldiers and gored them through and through with their tusks. Usually they lifted the soldiers in their trunks and dashed them violently to the ground[2]. Sometimes, they grasped the men, arms and all,

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[1] Justin ("*Invasion*" pp.322-323) states that Poros was the first to attack the Macedonians and he demanded from them their king. This statement is incorrect because it is unsupported by other authorities. Curtius ("*Invasion*" p. 207) writes that when the news of Alexander's landing reached him he thought that Abhisares came to his help. He became conscious of the real situation only when the the routed soldiers of the party of his son gave the full report to him. Arrian (*Invasion* p. 102) says that he was in a dilemma because Krateros appeared to be undertaking the passage on the opposite side. But at last he decided to find a flat field and draw his forces on it. All this took much time. It appears that he was just completing his arrangements when the enemy began the action. Diodoros clearly says that the Macedonian cavalry began the action [" *Invasion* " p. 275].

[2] Diodoros: " *Invasion* " p. 275.

with their trunks and hoisting them above their heads delivered them unto the drivers who cut their heads in a trice [1]. Thus, they went crushing through the Macedonian phalanx and spread great terror and disaster in it [2]. All day long, the battle remained doubtful, the Greeks sometimes pursuing and sometimes fleeing from the elephants [3]. Towards the end the Greek cavalry drew together in course of battle and fell upon the Indians with great vigour [4]. The Greek infantry also being more mobile and light, attacked the elephants on all sides with sickle-like choppers, javelins and axes, wounded them badly and killed their drivers. Indian archers were also at a great disadvantage. Their long bows which were about the size of man and were pressed under foot at one end and held by the left hand in the middle, while the arrow was fixed on the string and discharged with the other, did not fix firmly in the slippery ground [5]. Hence the soldiers could not acquit themselves as they could on any other day. The chariots also stuck in the mud and became useless for the action. In the result, the Indian forces fell back on the defensive.

Seeing the elephants of Poros in disorder, Krateros crossed the Jhelum and reinforced the embattled armies of Alexander. The arrival of fresh forces redoubled the vigour of the Greek offensive and spread panic in Indian troops. Poros himself was wounded particularly in the right shoulder and turned his elephant back [6] to marshal as much forces as possible. Diodoros states that he gathered around him forty of the elephants that were still under control and falling on the enemy with all the weight of these animals made a great slaughter with his own hand.. The javelins, he flung with his hand, flew like the shots of a catapult [7]. The elephant of Poros showed remarkable sagacity and care for its royal master and defended him against the assailants by constantly repelling them [8]. This second charge

1 Curtius: " *Invasion* " p. 211.
2 Arrian: " *Invasion* " p. 106.
3 Curtius: " *Invasion* " p. 211.
4 Arrian: " *Invasion* " p. 106.
5 Curtius: " *Invasion* " p. 210.
6 Arrian: " *Invasion* " p. 108.
7 Diodoros: " *Invasion* " p. 276.
8 Plutarch: " *Invasion* " p. 308.

of the Indian elephants led by Poros himself spread great terror and destruction in the Greek armies. If the Ethiopic texts are to be believed, most of the Greek cavalry was destroyed in the attack and the soldiers were filled with great agony and grief. Some of them threw off their weapons and thought of going over to the enemy's side. Viewing this state Alexander, who was himself in great distress, ordered a cease-fire and approached Poros with the proposals of peace [1]. Firdausi also states that when the intensity of the war reached a high pitch, Alexander addressed Poros as follows:—

"O! noble man!
Our two hosts have been shattered by the fight,
The wild beasts batten on the brains of men,
The horses' hoofs are trampling on their bones
Now both of us are heroes, brave and young
Both paladins of eloquence and brain,
Why then slaughter be the soldiers' lot,
Or bare survival after combating?" ... ...

Arrian remarks that Alexander sent his friend Taxiles to persuade Poros to make peace with him. But as this messenger of peace reached near Poros, his blood boiled at the sight of his old enemy and he threw a javelin at him with such force that it would have broken his bones had not he galloped his horse back very quickly. [3] According to Curtius, this messenger was the brother of Taxiles and was killed with the javelin of Poros. [4]

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[1] Ernest A. Wallis Budge: *The life and exploits of Alexander the Great, being a series of translations of the Ethiopic Histories of Alexander*, p. 123.

[2] Warner's translation of the *Shāh-Nāmāh*, Vol VI, p. 117.
Shāh-Nāmāh ed. Macan, Vol. III, p. 1309.

Sikandar badū guft k'ai nāmdār ।
Do lashkar shakistāh shud az kār-i-zār ॥
Hamī dām-o-dad maghz-i-mardum khurad ।
Hamī n'āl-i-asp istakhvāñ ba-spurad ॥
Do Mardaim har do dilair-o-javāñ ।
Sukhan-go va bā-maghz do pahlavāñ ॥
Charā ba-har lashkar hamī kushtan ast ।
Vagar zindāh az-razm bar-gashtan ast ॥

[3] Arrian: "*Invasion*" p. 108.

[4] Curtius: "*Invasion*" p. 212.

But Alexander was so solicitous and desirous of peace with Poros that instead of feeling slighted by the disrespect shown for his envoy he sent messenger after messenger to Poros and at last commissioned Meroes to persuade him to come to terms with him.[1] This person Meroes is described as an Indian and a friend of Poros. He brought his influence to bear on Poros and made him ready to meet Alexander. I have identified Meroes with Candra Gupta Maurya and shown that he had entered into an alliance with Alexander for the invasion of Magadha and was keenly desirous of fostering friendship between him and Poros so that his plan may not fizzle out. When he found Alexander unable to overcome Poros, he felt that his programme had come to a standstill. Hence he went to persuade Poros to make friends with Alexander. Poros agreed to the proposal of Meroes and entered into a treaty of peace with Alexander at his instance.[2]

Greek writers tried to throw a veil on the issue of the battle of the Jhelum. Justin and Plutarch hold that Poros was taken prisoner at the end and V. A. Smith takes the same view;[3] Diodoros suggests that he fell into the hands of Alexander who gave him to the Indians to be cured of his wounds;[4] Curtius observes that when the elephant of Poros was stabbed to death and he was placed on a waggon in the shower of missiles, Alexander was struck by his valour and made a gesture of peace to him.[5] Arrian says that as Poros was retiring from the field of battle Alexander perceived that he was a great man and valiant in fight and was anxious to save his life and for this purpose sent him the messengers of place referred to above. The Ethiopic and Syriac texts, including the *Shah–Nāmāḥ* of Firdausi state that Poros was killed in the dual that took place between him and Alexander after the cessation of hostilities. This statement is manifestly wrong and seems to be based on a misunderstanding of facts. It

[1] Arrian: "*Invasion*" p. 108.

[2] See my paper *New Light on the Relations of Candra Gupta Maurya with Alexander the Great* to be published in the Bhāratiya Vidyā (Bombay).

[3] Justin: "*Invasion*" p. 323; Plutarch: "*Invasion*" p. 308, V. A. Smith: *The Oxford History of India*, p. 63.

[4] Diodoros: "*Invasion*" p. 276.

[5] Curtius: "*Invasion*" p. 213, Arrian: "*Invasion*" p. 108.

is well-known that a son of Poros, who was also called Poros fell in the initial skirmish that took place at the time of the landing of Alexander on the right bank of the Jhelum and it is also a fact that Poros was assassinated not long after the departure of Alexander from India at the instance of Cāṇakya and Candragupta as we shall presently see. These facts seem to have given birth to the legend of the death of Poros at the hands of Alexander in course of a dual, which lies at the basis of the Ethiopic and Syriac traditions.

All Greek authorities concur that Poros was reinstated in his state and that the territories conquered by Alexander in India were added to his dominioms. This sounds strange and incredible that a victor gave his own conquered territory to a defeated enemy instead of annexing his dominions to his own state. History affords no parallel to this event in the light of which we may judge howfar it is believable. All that we know about the treatment that is meted out by a victorious king to his vanquished rival goes against the reality of this event. It is said that Alexander wanted to make friends with Poros in consideration of the valour displayed by him on the field of battle.[1] This remark scarcely applies to a person who got such a gallant fighter as Bessos whipped, mutilated and executed, who flung a lance at Kleitos who was the brother of his nurse and the saviour of his life in the battle of the Granikos, simply because he praised his father Philip on an occasion, who ordered his most trusted generals Parmenion and his son to be put to death on account of a flimsy rumour of conspiracy, who imprisoned and tortured to death Kallisthenes, the nephew of his preceptor Aristotle, because he made an unsavoury comment on his adoption of oriental manners, who made a wholesale massacre of the fugitives from Massaga, whom he had promised shelter and safety, in the dead of night, who put innocent men, women and children to death in course of his homeward expedition through lower Punjab and Sindh and who burnt Persepolis and destroyed many cities of his defeated enemies like Sangala.

1 Cicero in his *Pro-Marcello* and Seneca in his *de clementia* praise Alexander in the highest terms for his magnanimous behaviour towards Póros.

In fact, Alexander's heart was full of such pugnacious vindictiveness and unbridled impulsiveness that he brooked no affront or resistance and went all-out to eliminate everyone that came in his way. Hence it passes comprehension that he was so lenient towards his most redoubtable enemy who inflicted a heavy loss[1] on him, as to add to his power and prestige, even after defeating him with great difficulty. What was then the issue of the battle?

Old historians like V. A. Smith[2] agree with the Greek writers that Alexander was victorions in the battle of the Jhelum and some Indian scholars like H. C. Seth[3] hold that it was Poros who won the battle. S. Chattopādhyāya[4] has shown that the war was evidently a drawn game and Poros was able to maintain his own position and that it is doubtful if Alexander advanced beyond the Jhelum. All that we know of the battle of the Jhelum leads us to the conclusion that this battle was not fought to a finish. When Poros retired from the battle field to rally as much forces as remained on the battle-field and led a desperate elephant charge on the Greek armies, Alexander thought discretion to be the better part of valour and opened the overtures of peace with him. Likewise, Poros was prevailed upon by his friend Meroes or Candra Gupta Maurya to come to terms with Alexander and make him an instrument of invading Magadha. Therefore both the belligerents patched up an honourable peace before the outcome of the battle was precisely known.

1 Arrian states that on Alexanders' side there fell 80 of the infantry, who took part in the first attack 10 of the horse-archers who began the action, 20 of the companion cavalry and 200 of the other cavalry. Diodoros gives a bigger figure of the losses of Alexander. He says that 280 horsemen and 700 foot soldiers fell on Alexander's side. But the description of the battle given by them shows that the casualities on his side were much more than mentioned by these writers and that they deliberately belittled the losses of their hero and exaggerated those of his antagonist. (For a like view see *Cambridge Ancient History* Vol. IV, p. 409).

2 *The Oxford History of India* p. 63.

3 *Was Poros the Victor of the battle of Jhelum?* Proceedings of the Second Indian History Congress 1938.

4 *The rule of the Achaemenids in India, Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. XXV, No. 3, p. 201.

VII

The Friendship of Alexander and Poros and the Subjugation of the States of the Punjab by them

The treaty of Alexander with Poros strengthened the anti-magadha movement that was lanuched by Cāṇakya and Candra-Gupta in the Punjab. Henceforth the aim of Alexander and Poros was to liquidate the small states of the Punjab and then to advance against Magadha. Therefore, Alexander stayed in the dominion of Poros for thirty days to recruit his troops [1] and then proceeded to reduce the states of the Kashmīr valley. He defeated the Glausai or Glaukanikai and received the submission of the king of Abhisāra. This king was following a policy of running with the hare and hunting with the hound from the outset. First, he went to the help of the Ashvakas but when they were defeated by Alexander sent an embassy to him at Taxila. Meanwhile, learning that his colleague Poros was preparing himself for war with the Macedonian invader, he thought of joining him with an army. But again he tarried, probably, in wait of the outcome of the battle of the Jhelum and arrived too late to his assistance.[2] When the treaty of Alexander and Poros was concluded he sent another embassy to the former offering his submission. According to Arrian[3] he pretended illness to conceal his vacillation. Thus the states of Kashmīra accepted the vassalage of Alexander and hence of Poros.

Alexander, then, advanced towards the interior of India. "In fact, the battle with Poros depressed the spirits of the Macedonians and made them very unwilling to advance further into India." [4] But Poros promised him full assistance and himself went up to the Chenab with him.[5] From there he returned to his capital to recruit a large army and organise his elephant corps for his help.

Alexander easily occupied the territory between the Chenab (Akesines) and the Rāvi (Hydraotes) which was ruled over by the

[1] Diodoros: "*Invasion*" p. 277.
[2] Diodoros: "*Invasion*" p. 278.
[3] Arrian: "*Invasion*" p. 129.
[4] Plutarch: "*Invasion*" p. 310.
[5] Arrian: "*Invasion*" p. 113.

younger Poros who was the nephew of the Elder Poros. The relations between these two scions of the same family were far from good. Hence when Alexander marched against the Elder Poros the younger Poros was glad at the prospect of his rival's defeat and sent envoys to the invader offering to surrender his person and country to him. But when Alexander made friends with the Elder Poros and enhanced his power and prestige, he was overcome with the fear of his namesake,[1] and fled from his dominions to Magadha for refuge.[2] Alexander took possession of his territories and handed them over to the Elder Poros.

After crossing the Rāvi and receiving the submission of the Adraistai, Alexander marched against the Kathaians, who were determined to offer a stiff resistance to the invading armies. The defenders had made great preparations of war in their capital Śaṅgala, which was situated either near Fathgarh in the Gurdaspur district or near Jandiala to the east of Amritsar.[3] They had drawn up their forces behind three rows of waggons which formed, a kind of Śakaṭavyūha. Alexander had to contend with tremendous odds in the battle, which followed with the Kathaians, but Poros arrived at the eleventh hour with his army and elephants[4] and turned the scales of war in favour of Alexander. He sent Poros with his own forces to the cities which had submitted to introduce garrisons within them and himself advanced to the river Beas (Hyphasis).[5] His object was to make his rear secure and he thought none better than Poros to accomplish this task. Poros finished this work soon and joined Alexander on the Beas, where his troops were alarmed by the reports of the strength of the people living beyond the Ganges and he sought their confirmation from Poros, who testified to their correctness but emphasized the unpopularity of Nanda kings, which was their weakest point.[6] But the armies of Alexander totally refused to advance forward and he was forced to retrace his steps. First he went to the capital of Poros and there conferred the sovereignty of the territories conquered by him in India on Poros in the

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1 Arrian: " *Invasion* " p. 114. 2 Diodoros " *Invasion* " p. 279.
3 *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I, p. 371.
4 Arrian: " *Invasion* " p. 119. 5 Arrian: " *Invasion* " p. 120.
6 Diodoros: " *Invasion* " p. 282; Curtius: " *Invasion* " p. 222.

presence of the Companions and the ambassadors.[1] Then, he set sail down the Indus and marching through lower Punjab, Sindha and the Gedrosian desert crossed back the frontiers of India.

VIII

The Aftermath of Alexander's Indian Invasion and the Alliance of Poros and Candra Gupta Maurya

Meanwhile, a terrible storm was brewing in the Punjab. The Brāhmaṇas had launched a crusade against Greek rule,[2] the worsted tribes and peoples were smarting under foreign domination; the clans and corps of mercenary soldiers were thrown out of employment as a result of the extinction of small states and the establishment of paramount authority over them and the people, as a whole, were conscions of the need of a stable government, strong enough to withstand foreign invasions and internal disruptions. This new spirit led the people to rise against Greek generals and governors. Candra Gupta and Poros sensed the situa tion and became the leaders of the revolution which was spreading in the North-West. They began by ovrethrowing the remnants of Greek rule and attacking the Greek prefects which were its nominal symbols. When Alexander was in Karmania the news of the murder of Philippos reached him and he commissioned Taxiles and Eudamos to assume the administration of the province governed by him[3]. But the wave of revolution swept away the last remnants of Greek rule in no time and Poros and Candra Gupta emerged as the undisputed leaders of the people, under whom the liberation of the country was accomplished.

IX

The Conquest of Magadha and the Murder of Poros

After liberating the Punjab from the yoke of the Greeks, Candra Gupta proceeded to conquer Magadha. The *Mudrārakṣasa* of Viśākhadatta, the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* (*Mahāvaṁsa Ṭīkā*), the *Mahāvaṁsa* of Moggallāna known as the *Cambodian Mahāvaṁsa*,

[1] Arrian : " *Invasion* " p. 133.

[2] Plutarch : " *Invasion* " p. 306, Arrian : " *Invasion* " p. 159.

[3] Arrian : " *Invasion* ". p. 177.

the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* of Hemacandra and the Cūrṇi and Ṭīkā of the *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti* on which Hemacandra based his narrative and other Jain works like the commentary on the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra named '*Sukhabodhā*' by Devendraganin alias Nemicandra Sūri and the *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇācārya, state that Candra Gupta had an important colleague and collaborator in Parvataka or Parvateśvara in his conquest of Magadha[1]. There are very strong grounds for holding that Parvateśvara is identical with Poros, as

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[1] *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* (ed. G. P. Malalasekera) P. T. S. Vol. I p. 183
सो पन रत्तिं अन्तोराजनिवेसने पदुमसरट्ठानसदिसं मनुस्सूपट्ठानं गन्त्वा तस्मिं एव ठाने वसन्तस्स राजपुत्तस्स पब्बतस्स नाम कुमारस्स उपट्ठाकमनुस्से दिस्वा तेहि सद्धिं मित्तसन्थवं कत्वा तेहि पटिलद्धपक्खो राजकुमारं दिस्वा तं हत्थगतं कत्वा रज्जेन तं उपलालेत्वा तेन विस्सत्थो हुत्वा...
see also pages 184–185 एवं ते तस्स सन्तिके वसन्ता......... etc.

Mahāvaṁsa of Moggallāna V 86-94 G. P. Malalasekera, *Extended Mahāvaṁsa* pp. 59-60. (Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon branch)

तस्स रञ्ञो तु पब्बतकुमार–अव्हयो (कुमाराव्हयो) सुतो
कुमारस्स उपट्ठाके पभाते ते वुदिक्खय ॥
मन्थवञ्च कारित्वान तेहि सद्धिं अनेकधा ।
पटिलद्धपक्खो दिस्वा राजसुतं पसीदिय ॥

ibid V, 123 p. 62

पब्बतराजकुमारं सो वसापेत्वान एकतो ।
सतसहस्सग्घानिकं हेमपानाळियावुतम् ।

These traditions relate that when Cāṇakya was distressed by the order of arrest passed against him by King Dhanananda, for his insolent conduct at the session of the Alms Committee, he approached prince Parvata (Pabbato), who lived with his mother in the outskirt of the city, and sought exit from there with his help. These traditions state that Parvata was the son of the Nanda King [See G. P. Malalasekera: *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* Vol. I p. 860; C. D. Chatterji, *Early Life of Candra Gupta Maurya, B. C. Law Volume* I p. 590]. This appears to be a mistake for no other source connects Parvata with the Nanda family. Only Diodoros writes that the younger Poros, who ruled between the Akisenes and the Hydraotes, fled from his kingdom to Magadha to take refuge under the Nandas when the joint forces of Alexander and the Elder Poros threatened to attack him. But this remark does not in the least imply any blood relationship between Poros and the Nanda family. The account of the Ceylonese chronicles in this respect is based on a misunderstanding of facts. Equally fictitious is the story of the living together of Candragupta and Parvataka (Parvata) as fellow-students under Cāṇakya at Takṣaśilā and the assassination of the latter by the former at the instigation of Cāṇakya, following the discovery of his inferiority as a ruler.

shown in the earlier part of this paper. Dr. Hermann Jacobi identifies Parvata with Parvą, alias Panchen the eleventh king of the Kirāta dynasty of Nepal, mentioned in the Buddhapārvatīya-vaṁśāvali, on the ground that in the reign of the seventh king Jitedāsti, the Buddha visited Nepal, and in that of the fourteenth king Sthuṅka, Aśoka also visited that country [*Pariśiṣṭaparvan* (2nd edition) *introduction* pp. LXXV-LXXVI ; *Indian Antiquary* Vol. VII p. 90] Hence it is likely that Parva was a contemporary of Candra Gupta Maurya. About this view Mr. C. D. Chatterji pertinently observes as follows : 'while we do not question the historicity of Parva alias Panchen, the eleventh Kirāta King of Gokarṇa, it passes comprehension how an astute politician and strategist like Cāṇakya could count so much on the military assistance of a barbarous Mongoloid ruler of a hill state for overthrowing the last Nanda King, when the war-veterans of Alexander, who had brought under their heels the vast tract of Asia stretching from the Hellespont to the Hyphasis, wavered for want of confidence in their success against the most powerful Xandramas, King of the Prasioi and the Gangaridai and ultimately retired almost from the frontier of his Kindgom ' [C. D. Chatterji, *Early Life of Chandra Gupta Maurya* B. C. Law Volume I p. 602] It appears that Cāṇakya and Candra Gupta were discussing a treaty of alliance with him for the invasion of Magadha when Alexander appeared on the scene for Arrian says that they were old friends. [1] On the advent of Alexander Candra Gupta tried to make peace with him in order to make him an instrument of his policy of conquering the Nanda empire and when his plan was impeded by the uncertain verdict of the battle of the Jhelum, he brought about a reconciliation between him and Poros and thus established a triple entente against Magadha. But when Alexander retraced his steps he and his ally Poros changed their policy, wiped out the vestiges of Greek rule from India and led an expedition against Magadha. Hemacandra[2]

[1] **Arrians' remark applies to Meroes, who has been identified by me with Candra Gupta Maurya. See paper *op. cit.***

[2] *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* **VIII, 290-299 ed. Jacobi**

चाणक्यो हिमवत्कूटं ततोऽगात्सान्निवेशनम् ।
यत्र पर्वतकाख्येन नृपेण सह सौहृदम् ॥

(*continued on the following page*)

and Viśākhadatta[1] state that it was agreed upon between them that they would equally divide the empire of the Nandas between themselves like two brothers.

We know that Poros was appointed by Alexander to govern the territories between the Jhelum and the Beas. Alexander had also founded two cities Nikaia and Boukephala in his kingdom which were peopled by Greek settlers, who were mainly soldiers. Poros had under him a contingent of Greek soldiers, who were partly enlisted from the Greek settlements and partly drawn from the regiments that Alexander left in India to keep watch on his interests. Besides the Greeks, the Persian, Baktrian and Scythian

(*continued from the previous page*)

चन्द्रगुप्तगुरुश्चक्रे तत्साहाय्यककाम्यया ।
तमन्यदोचे चाणक्यो नन्दमुन्मूल्य पार्थिवम् ॥

तद्राज्यं संविभज्यावां गृह्णीव भ्रातराविव ।
ततः पर्वतकेनापि प्रत्यपद्यत तद्वचः ॥
स हि चाणाक्ययुक्तोऽभूत् सन्नद्ध इव केसरी ।

1 *Mudrārākṣasa* ed. Telang Act. II, p. 126–127.

विराधगुप्तः — ततश्चाणक्यहतकेन ... ... पर्वतेश्वरभ्रातरं वैरोचकमेकासने
चन्द्रगुप्तेन सहोपवेश्य कृतः पृथ्वीराजविभागः ।

राक्षसः— किं वातिसृष्टः पर्वतकभ्रात्रे वैरोचकाय पूर्वप्रतिश्रुतो राज्यार्धविभागः ।

Sukhabodhā of Devendragaṇin, see H. Jacobi : *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* Appendices p. 15–16.

हिमवन्तकूडं.........पव्वओ राया.........मेत्तिकया...
नन्दरज्जं समं समेण विभंजयामो ।

A refernec to 'Parvata' is found in the following verses of the Bṛhatkathākośa of Hariṣeṇācārya (931–32 A. D.).

प्रत्यन्तवासिभूपोऽपि निशम्यास्य वचः परम् ।
निनाय तं निजस्थानं चाणक्यं मतिशालिनम् ॥

पर्वतान्तं परिप्राप्य भूपैः प्रत्यन्तवासिभिः ।
भक्तं प्रवेशयामासुर्धनं च सकलं तदा ॥

— Bṛhatkathākośa ed. A. N. Upādhye (S. J. G.)
143, 66–67 p. 338

The account of the Bṛhatkathākośa is mixed with fable and romance. There is no sense of historical accuracy in it. Only the name 'Parvata' is of historical import.

soldiers, who came to India with Alexander, swelled his ranks [1] and his neighbours, the Kings, of Kulūta, Kashmīra, Sindha and Mālava (Malaya) joined him with their armies,[2] if the Mudrārākṣasa is to be believed.

With these forces Poros moved towards Pāṭaliputra and conquered it. But just as he reached the pinnacle of power, his life was cut short by the conspiracy of Cāṇakya and Candra Gupta. We learn that the Greek official Eudamos murdered an Indian King just as Alexander turned his back on India and that Poros was the king who was murdered after his departure. Hence it is plausible to conclude that Eudamos murdered Poros at the instance of Cāṇakya and Candra Gupta. It appears that Eudamos was at the head of the Greek regiments that accompanied Poros in his Magadhan expedition. When he had victory within his grasp and was going to ascend the imperial throne, Cāṇakya tipped Eudamos to murder Poros. According to the *Mudrārākṣasa* Poros was murdered by poisoning,[3] (physical contact with poison girl).

According to the Mudrārākṣasa after the murder of Poros, his son Malayaketu tried to avenge the death of his father on the conspirators. But his plans were foiled by the conspiracies of Cāṇakya. Thus Candra Gupta assumed the sovereignty of the whole of India from the North-Western regions up to the sea of Bengal and became the most powerful king of those times. The fortune of the Purus declined and their dominious were annexed to the Maurya empire. Only a legend of the feats of Poros survived and was rendered into form and colour by the sculptors and painters. Philostratos of Lemnos states that outside the walls of Taxila was a temple of shell-marble, round which were hung pictures on copper plates representing the feats of Alexander and Poros. [4]

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1 *Mudrārākṣasa* Act II, p. 122

अस्ति तावच्छकयवनकिरातकाम्बोजपारसीकबाह्लीकप्रभृतिभिश्चाणक्य-
मतिपरिगृहीतैश्चन्द्रगुप्तपर्वतेश्वरबलैरुदधिभिरिव प्रलयोच्चलितसलिलैः
समन्तादुपरुद्धं कुसुमपुरं ।

2 *Ibid*, Act V, p. 240

सिद्धार्थकः— एदे मह वअस्सा पचं राआणो तुए सह समुप्पण्णसिणेहा । ते जहा
कुलूदाहिवो चित्तवम्मो मलअणअराहिवो सिंहणादो कम्हीरदेसणाहो
पुक्खरक्खो सिन्धुराओ सिन्धुसेणो पारसीओ मेहणादो त्ति ।

3 *Mudrākākṣasa*, II, 16

कन्या तस्य वधाय या विषमयी गूढं प्रयुक्ता मया ।
दैवात्पर्वतकस्तया स निहतो यस्तस्य राज्यार्धहृत् ॥

4 **Translated by J. W. M. 'Crindle :** ***Ancient India as described in classical literature.***

MISCELLANEA

THE 'MADHYAMA' IN BHĀSA

By

U. Venkatakrishna Rao

Kauṭilya defines this word as a neutral sovereign who occupies a territory midway between two belligerents and more powerful than either of them individually – अरिविजिगीष्वोः भूम्यनन्तरः संहतासंहतयोः अनुग्रहसमर्थः निग्रहे चासंहतयोः मध्यमः – (Śamavyāyamika VI. 2, page 259, 1909; Mysore edition). Kālidāsa uses the word in the sense of a righteous arbitrator of kingly disputes in Raghu XIII. 7 – नृपा इवोपप्लविनः परेभ्यो धर्मोत्तरं मध्यमं आश्रयन्ते. The word is also used in political circles to refer to the governor of a province. Using it as an adjective to qualify पद् or step, Kālidāsa (Vikr. I. 19) uses it to refer to the middle or second step of Vāmana viz. the sky. In the feminine gender, the word refers to the middle finger and refers also according to the Amarakośa to a young woman in her full menstrual vigour – स्यान्मध्यमा दृष्टरजाः. Bhāsa seems to use the word in this last sense when he refers to Kaikeyī as a मध्यमा ; when he uses it in the masculine gender to refer to Bhīma, he seems to use it also in a similar sense of a young man in full vigour and strength, the middle son among Kuntī's three sons. Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa knows this sense in the beginning of the IV act, but in V 26, takes it to refer to Arjuna counting the sons of Mādrī also in the list.

The story of Ajīgarta Śunaḥśepa in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, how he was sold by his parents to Hariścandra to be sacrificed to Varuṇa in the place of his young son, and how he was later saved by Viśvāmitra is very well known. This very sage Viśvāmitra is referred to in the Bhāgavata IX, 16-29[b] verse as having a hundred sons of whom the मध्यम was Madhucchandas. The latter 50 headed by this मधुच्छन्दस् were cursed to become Mlecchas by Viśvāmitra (verse 33). How Manu had ten sons among whom in the middle was one Nābhānediṣṭha who was not included in the division of the ancestral property is very well known. This boy was referred to as मध्यम and Nābhāga later on that account. Perhaps the Dharmaśāstrakāras were influenced by these famous examples in which the मध्यम son was

unwanted and even deprived of his share of the property. In Gautama Dharma III praśna 10 adhyāya sūtras 5 and 6 for example are as follows: विंशातिभागं ज्येष्ठस्य मिथुनमुभयतो दशुक्तो रथो गोवृषः । and काणखोरकूटवणोटा मध्यमस्यानेकाश्चेत्. The first sūtra here refers to the $\frac{1}{20}$ extra share which the eldest, in preference to the younger brothers gets, besides the bulls with teeth on both sides of the mouth yoked to the chariot, a pair of cows and a very strong bull. The next sūtra refers to the मध्यम, or the मध्यमs if more than one, who are to be provided with one-eyed (काण), old (खोर), (if the reading is खोट = lame), hornless (कूट) and tailless (वणोट) perhaps even toothless horses or cows. The next Sūtra refers to the share of the youngest brother who gets the next best things after the ज्येष्ठ – अविः धान्यायसी गृहं अनोयुक्तं चतुष्पदां चैकेकं यवीयसः – goat, granary, iron things, house, a yoked chariot, and one each of the fourlegged (cows, horses, bulls, asses etc.) – page 222, Ānandāśrama edition of 1931. So it is clear that other Dharmaśāstrakāras following Gautama were cruel to him inasmuch as they decreed that the eldest brother should receive his share of the ancestral property first: after him the youngest, and after both had taken away what all they wanted, the unwanted things left over by them, tailless, one-eyed, hornless cows and bulls and evidently similar furniture in imperfect condition, were to be accepted by this practically unwanted son. One is tempted to think that the drama Madhyama Vyāyoga was written by Bhāsa to put an end to this savage custom and soon after, Yājñavalkya and other law-givers decreed that all brothers should share the ancestral property equally. But the middle son (or sons) is even now not allowed to perform the obsequies, he, (or they) is only permitted to silently look on, while the eldest and the youngest actually recite the mantras and participate in the spiritual rites. As Bhāsa remarks (between verses 19 and 20 in the drama itself, father saying: ज्येष्ठमिष्टतमं न शक्नोमि परित्यक्तुं while mother says: यथार्यो ज्येष्ठमिच्छति तथाहमपि कनिष्ठमिच्छामि), there seems to be some psychological reason behind this prohibition; it may be in some cases that the sympathy of the parents may also be directed towards the financially unfortunate son, but Bhāsa does not speak of it here as he is concerned only with his favourite मध्यम.

In the list of the wives of Daśaratha, the names are popularly mentioned as Kausalyā, Kaikeyī and Sumitrā. The order of seniority according to age is definitely not, this: Kaikeyī was married long after he had married his first two wives; her beauty attracted the old king to such an extent that exactly as Śantanu had done in the sister epic, Daśaratha married her with distinct promise that he would make her son his heir. The Rāmāyaṇa mentions that he did not invite Janaka and the old Kekaya King, his father-in-law, to Rama's coronation, slyly saying that these two Kings were too far and would rejoice *after* hearing about Rama's coronation verse 46, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa I, न तु केकयराजानं जनकं वा नराधिपः। त्वरया चानयामास पश्चात्तौ श्रोष्यतः प्रियम् ॥. Obviously the old Kekaya King would have objected since the kingdom belonged to his grandson Bharata as marriage शुल्क or contract and Janaka as the attestor thereto would have also protested in righteous indignation, even though his own daughter's husband was to lose the kingdom in consequence. Bhāsa in the Pratimā I Act, foresees this and refers to Kaikeyī as *demanding* her शुल्के विपणितं राज्यं (verse 15, where Rāma pacifies Lakṣmaṇa by this argument). Why Vālmīki makes Rāma silent though he knows about this definitely (107th chapter, Ayodhyā) is not clear. Both Vālmīki and Kālidāsa make Kaikeyī *beg* for the kingdom as a *boon*, while Bhāsa makes her *demand* it as शुल्कं quite reasonably. In the 107th chapter of the Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, Rāma pacifies Bharata with this very explanation which poor Bharata cannot obviously rebut. Coming back to the context, Kaikeyī is the youngest of the wives; why then should her name be just before Sumitrā's is an intriguing question. It is definite that both Kausalyā and Sumitrā had even passed *menopause* stage, and they could become mothers only as a result of the super-natural *pāyasa* that they got in the sacrifice performed by Ṛṣyaśṛṅga. But Kaikeyī was a charming lady in the full enjoyment of her menstrual vigour and Bhāsa, using the word in the sense in which the Amarakośa explains it as स्यान्मध्यमा दृष्टरजाः, referred to her as a मध्यमा, but the lay public, not understanding his technical use of this word, pushed her to the middle position among the wives of the King. Bhāsa's Pratimā III. 16 in which Bharata refuses to prostrate before his mother

saying मम मातुश्च मातुश्च मध्यस्था त्वं न शोभसे । गङ्गायमुनयोर्मध्ये कुनदीव प्रवेशिता ॥ might have started this confusion by referring to Kaikeyī as मध्यस्था, but the context is quite clear, and more especially the word प्रवेशिता clearly indicates that she was inserted into the wrong place. Kaikeyī is later consistently referred to as मध्यमाम्बा by Rāma in later literature.

Another confusion, again, has resulted from this initial mistake. When Kaikeyī's position improved as the 'second' and not third wife, her son Bharata also was provided a more revered place. The epic itself is unfortunately vague in this connection: the पायसविभाग context in the Bālakāṇḍa XVI and the actual births of these four brothers in the XVIII canto of the same Bālakāṇḍa will be referred to in detail now, along with the later popular authorities. Verses 29 and 30 in Adhyāya XVI refer to पायसविभाग thus: कौसल्यायै नरपतिः पायसार्धं ददौ तदा । अर्धादर्धं ददौ चापि सुमित्रायै नराधिपः ॥ कैकेय्यै चावशिष्टार्धं ददौ पुत्रार्थकारणात् । प्रददौ चावशिष्टार्धं पायसस्यामृतोपमं । अनुचिन्त्य सुमित्रायै पुनरेव महीपतिः ॥ In other words, Kausalyā got the first half; half of the remaining was given to Sumitrā; then half of what remained was given to Kaikeyī; the last remaining portion was given to *Sumitrā again*. Evidently the reason for this was, as Kālidāsa explains in Raghu X canto was that the प्रीतिद्वन्द्व, Rāma *cum* Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata *cum* Śatrughna should grow up in love. Kālidāsa's verses are अर्चिता तस्य कौसल्या प्रिया केकयवंशजा । अतःसंभावितां ताभ्यां सुमित्रा-मैच्छदीश्वरः ॥ ते बहुज्ञस्य चित्तज्ञे पत्न्यौ पत्युर्महीक्षितः । चरोरर्धार्धभागाभ्यां तामयोजयतामुभे ॥......... समानेऽपिहि सौभ्रात्रे यथोभौ रामलक्ष्मणौ । तथा भरत-शत्रुघ्नौ प्रीत्या द्वन्द्वं बभूवतुः ॥ Bhoja in his Campūrāmāyaṇa saw the absurdity of the portions of the pāyasa and explained the पायस division thus:

कौसल्यायै प्रथममदिशद्भूपतिः पायसार्धम्
प्रादादर्धं प्रणयमधुरं केकयेन्द्रस्य पुत्र्यै ।
एते देव्यौ तरलमनसः पत्युरालोच्य भावम्
स्वार्धांशाभ्यां स्वयमकुरुतां पूर्णकामां सुमित्राम् ॥

Here the absurdities of पायस distribution are avoided by making the पायस given to Kausalyā and Kaikeyī who, out of consideration for their husband's affection, parted with half of what they got to Sumitrā and thus the association of the twin sons of Sumitrā with the sons of the two queens became a settled fact.

Whatever the later authorities might say, Vālmīki mentions that the order of receiving the पायस was first Kausalyā, Sumitrā, Kaikeyī and once again Sumitrā, though Kālidāsa and Bhoja would make it Kausalyā, Kaikeyī and Sumitrā (receiving the same twice from the two others). From the text of the epic as quoted just now, one might be tempted to believe that लक्ष्मण was older; but the XVIII sarga describing the birth of the boys, makes Rāma the eldest, being born on Navamī in the पुनर्वसुनक्षत्र, (verse 9), Bharata in Puṣya on Daśamī before sunrise (verse 13), and afterwards Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna in Āśleṣā after sunrise (verse 14). According to this, Bharata would be elder to Lakṣmaṇa and this is followed by Kālidāsa in Raghu XIII, 73 thus: सौमित्रिणा तदनु संससृजे स चैनमुत्थाप्य नम्रशिरसं भृशमालिलिङ्ग while Bhāsa follows the पायसविभाग order and makes लक्ष्मण older to Bharata in the Act V of प्रतिमा. Govindarāja definitely explains in the commentary that the order of birth is the deciding factor, making Bharata definitely the elder and confirming Kālidāsa's standpoint.

The testimonies paid to the मध्यम (भीमसेन) by Bhāsa in the various Bhārata dramas deserve to be specially noted. Abhimanyu describes him in Pañcarātra II 57 (तुलयित्वा जरासन्धं कण्ठश्लिष्टेन बाहुना । असह्यकर्म तत् कृत्वा नीतः कृष्णोऽतदर्हताम् ॥) as one who simply balanced the gigantic body of Jarāsandha in the air, strangled him, killed him outright, thus eclipsing the fame of Śrī Kṛṣṇa (who was driven away by Jarāsandha to his sea-girt city of द्वारका). In the first act of the same drama verse 50, Bhīṣma pays him a handsome compliment when he says, भीमसेनस्य लीलेयं सुव्यक्तं बाहुशालिनः । योऽस्मिन् भ्रातृशते रोषः स तस्मिन् पातितः शते ॥ "This is evidently Bhīmasena's hidden hand: the hatred he has towards his 100 brothers (the Kauravas), he has exhibited against the Kīcaka 100". Ghaṭotkaca in the Madhyama Vyāyoga not knowing that the person he is talking to is his own father, remarks in response to his question in verse 42 काञ्चनस्तंभसदृशो रिपूणां निग्रहे रतः । अयं तु दक्षिणो बाहुः आयुधं सहजं मम ॥ that only his father could speak like this. At this Bhīma retorts: To whom is your father equal: to Brahma, Śiva, Kṛṣṇa, Śakra, Śaktidhara (Skanda) and Yama? and the young hero replies — to all. This is ridiculed by Bhīma and the two start their fight.

In the Pañcarātra, Bhīṣma compares Bhīma to Halāyudha in III 14 saying द्वावेव दोर्भ्यां समरे प्रयातौ हलायुधश्चैव वृकोदरश्च ॥ – two alone – Halāyudha or Balarāma and Bhīma can fight with their bare hands on the battlefield. It is only on the occasion of a contrast with his greater favourite Duryodhana in the Ūrubhaṅga that Bhāsa lets down his Madhyama a bit saying (verse 57) छलबलदलितोरुः कौरवेन्द्रः – that it was through deceit that his thighs were broken. Duryodhana also remarks in the context that Kṛṣṇa entered into Bhīma's तीव्रगदा or ferocious mace and dispatched him to Mṛtyu, verse 35 – तीव्रां भीमगदां प्रविश्य सहसा निर्व्याजयुद्धप्रियः । तेनाहं जगतः प्रियेण हरिणा मृत्योः प्रतिग्राहितः ॥.

Thus, though to a certain extent unconsciously in the end, the मध्यम might be let down, Bhāsa's conception of him is really unique in Sanskrit literature. Both in the masculine as referring to Bhīma and in the feminine as referring to Kaikeyī, Bhāsa has invested the word with a special charm in his own unique way : one is even tempted to remark that the dramatic use of this word assures Bhāsa a high rank among the best dramatists of the world. This peculiar sense of the word was evidently forgotten by the Pandits after a time and as far as I am able to find out, Kālidāsa, Bhāravi or Māgha have not used this word in this unique sense either in the masculine or in the feminine gender. Māgha in particular is supposed to have exhausted the words in the dictionary in his 9 cantos – नवसर्गगते माघे नव शब्दो न विद्यते, – but it is interesting to note the absence of this word in the particular 9 cantos.

By implication, again, Bhāsa seems to suggest that the word मध्यम might also be understood in the sense of the two उपपाण्डव heroes, Ghaṭotkaca and Abhimanyu. The former, when asked by his mother to prostrate before his father, bows to him saying significantly धार्तराष्ट्रकुलदवाग्निः घटोत्कचः अहमभिवादये. In India, our poets glorified only the पाण्डव heroes, while in Further India, these उपपाण्डव heroes have been honoured in proportion to their unique and literal *self*-sacrifice for the glory of their fathers. Bhāsa long ago realised the injustice of our not honouring these glorious martyrs and has painted them in glowing colours in his two exquisite dramas. This स्फुलिङ्गावस्थया वह्निः, as Kālidāsa refers to Bharata in VII act of the Śākuntala, is discernible also in the glowing picture he draws of Durjaya towards the end of his ऊरुभङ्ग. We close these dramas with a fervent wish that Bhāsa had created more such Madhyamas and presented them to the world !

A NOTE ON THE WORD देवालय IN BHASA'S पञ्चरात्र

In verse 4 of Pañcarātra I, last line, Bhāsa remarks एवं लोकमुदारुरोह सकलं देवालयं तद्गुणैः ॥ that the entire world ascended to heaven or देवालय. Here the word देवालय is to be understood only in the sense of heaven as in the Amara स्वरव्ययं स्वर्गनाकत्रिदिवत्रिदशालयाः where evidently देवालय and त्रिदशालय may be regarded as synonyms. When the word descended to the earth to signify the abode of a god on the earth or a temple is very difficult to say. But the word has come to mean a temple in all our North Indian and South Indian languages. Perhaps Śrī Saṁkara's सदाचारानुसन्धान in the Vāṇi Vilās Edition Vol. XVI, page 108, verse 13

देहो देवालयः प्रोक्तः देही देवो निरञ्जनः ।
अर्चितः सर्वभावेन स्वानुभूत्या विराजते ॥

is the earliest place where the word *in this form* happens to be used in the sense of a temple. The 38th chapter of the Agni Purāṇa (page 48, Ānandāśrama Edition) is entitled देवालयनिर्माण and furnishes measurements in connection with the construction of a temple, but the date of the purāna itself is uncertain. The other authorities who refer to a temple, use a different word like देवायतन or देवनिकेतन or अम्बिकागृह and they do not help us. All the same, some of them are collected here for purposes of easy reference.

Vālmīki makes Rāma's mother pray in a देवतागार in the Ayodhyākānda IV, 30, वाग्यतां देवतागारे ददर्शायाचतीं श्रियम्. Evidently silent prayers were offered by her praying for prosperity perhaps on behalf of her son just prior to his coronation.

Kālidāsa uses the word निकेतन – असौ महाकालनिकेतनस्य वसन्नदूरे किल चन्द्रमौलेः Raghu VI. 37 – and also तत्र स्कन्दं नियतवसतिं पुष्पमेघीकृतात्मा 46 in the Meghadūta), श्रितगोकर्णनिकेतं ईश्वरं etc. in Raghu VIII. 33. He refers to the कुलदेवताः (in Himavān's house) as having been worshipped by Pārvatī first before her marriage – तामर्चिताभ्यः कुलदेवताभ्यः (Kum. VII. 27). The reading adopted in the Trivandrum edition of मनीषितायार्चे गृहेषु देवताः (Kumāra V. 4) also points to fact that gods were installed and worshipped in houses,

just as they were worshipped in temples as referred to just now. Kālidāsa also refers to the deification of certain sacred foot-prints as in तत्र व्यक्तं दृषदि चरणन्यासमर्धेन्दुमौले: Megh. I. 58 and in पद्मनाभचरणाङ्किताश्मानः in Kumāra VIII. 23. Besides the कुलदेवताः, स्थलीदेवताः are mentioned in Meghadūta II. 46. and also in the IV act of Śākuntalam.

Just before Kālidāsa, Kauṭilya (300 B. C.) refers to the installation of वास्तुदेवताः or house protecting deities in chapter 5, II अधिकरण and in chapter 6 to a देवताध्यक्ष or a temple Superintendent. Aśvaghoṣa, (150 A. D.) after Kālidāsa does not seem to refer to आयतन in the sense of a temple though he refers to आयतन in the sense of स्थान, referring to eye, ear, nose, tongue, body and mind as having their आध्यात्मिक or आन्तरिक abode in the body while रूप, शब्द, गन्ध, स्पर्श and धर्म are बाह्य आयतनs and have their abodes outside the body.

But Yājñavalkya (also 150 A. D.) refers to a temple calling it आयतनः- व्यवहार, स्वामिपाल section 154, Nirṇaya Sāgara Edition 1926 - आरामायतनग्रामनिपानोद्यानवेश्मसु etc. Kātyāyana (referred to in the Mitākṣarā on Yājñavalkya here) calls the temple देवगृह.

Bhāravi and Māgha do not seem to have used the word. The Pandits declare नवसर्गगते माघे नव शब्दो न विद्यते, that Māgha has exhausted the dictionary in his first 9 cantos, but I have not been able to find the words मध्यम as explained in the previous article and the word देवालय in Māgha.

The date of the Bhāgavata purāna is uncertain; here Rukmiṇī refers to a कुलदेवियात्रा first before her marriage wherein she worships at a shrine of Girijā outside the city at which she prays that Kṛṣṇa might kidnap her X, 52nd अध्याय verse 42. In the next adhyāya she refers to a temple dedicated to Indra and his wife शची who happen to be the family deities of hers, the words used being पौलोमीनिकेतन. An अम्बिकागृह is also referred to.

Why the word आलय or देवालय is avoided, as for example in Kālidāsa and Yājñavalkya, is not clear.

TWO RARE BRONZES IN THE DANCING POSE

BY

N. A. GORE

I

Dancing Gaṇeśa

God Gaṇeśa is one of the most popular deities in India and is invoked and worshipped at the beginning of every religious act by the Hindus, and " the popularity of Gaṇeśa extended to Nepal and Chinese Turkestan and crossed the seas to Java, Bali and Borneo, while his worship was not unknown in Tibet, Burma, Siam, China, Indo-China and Japan [1] ". Naturally, therefore, paintings and images of Gaṇeśa are quite numerous in all parts of India and are also found in other parts of Eastern Asia. But the representations of Gaṇeśa in the dancing pose are quite rare. Though the fortyone plates (two in colour) and eight line-drawings in the late Alice Getty's monumental monograph devoted exclusively to the study of Gaṇeśa contain 112 figures of the God, only five represent him in the dancing attitude [2].

The late T. A. Gopinath Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography* (Madras, 1914-1916) also contains one figure of Dancing Gaṇeśa or Nṛtta Gaṇapati [3]. It represents the original carved in stone on the Hoysāḷeśvara temple at Haḷebiḍu, the ancient capital of the Hoysāḷa kings, and Mr. Rao assigns it to the last quarter of the 12th century A. D. In this figure the god has eight hands and he generally conforms to the description of the Nṛtta Gaṇeśa

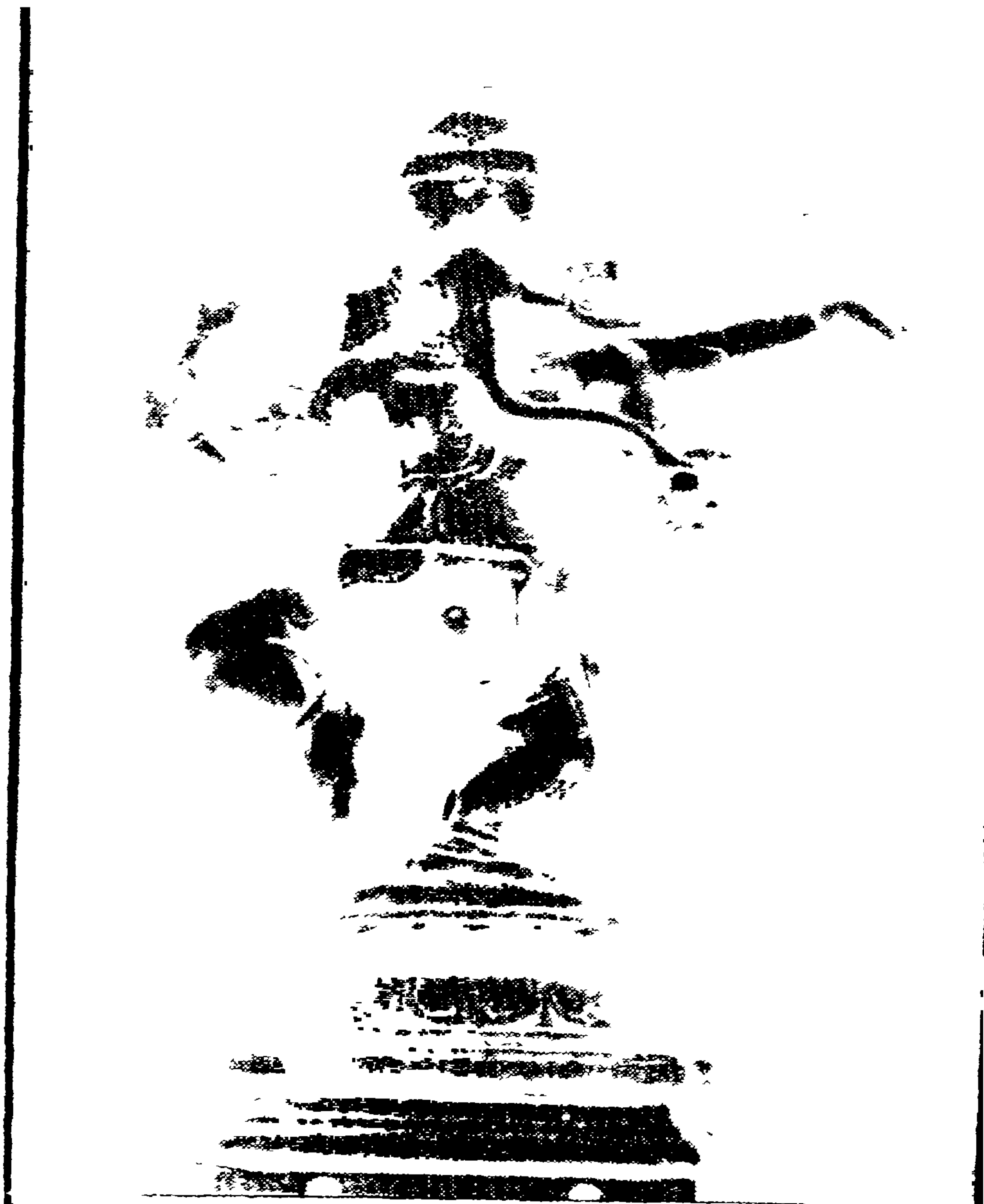
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1 Getty, *Gaṇeśa* (Oxford, 1936) p. 1.

2

Plate	1 (b) ;	12 arms ;	original	substance	—	painting.
,,	20 (a) ;	,, ,, ;	,,	,,	—	,,
,,	7 (a) :	10 ,, ;	,,	,,	—	carved pillar.
,,	7 (b) :	,, ,, ;	,,	,,	—	,,
,,	22 (a) ;	4 ,, ;	,,	,,	—	stone frieze,
	topmost figure					

3 Vol. I, part 1, plate no. 16.



Dancing Gaṇeśa
See pp. 242-245



A Buddhist Female Figure
See pp. 245-248



A Buddhist Dancing Figure
See pp. 245-248



A Buddhist Dancing Figure
See pp. 245-248

given in a verse quoted by Mr. Rao on p. 11 of Appendix C to Vol. I. pt. 1. It runs as follows :

पाशाङ्कुशापूपकुठारदन्तचञ्चत्करं वलय··· मङ्गुलीयकम् ।
पीतप्रभं कल्पतरूरुहस्तं भजामि नृत्तैकपदं गणेशम् ॥

This verse is thus explained by Mr. Rao on p. 59 of the same book :

"The image should have eight hands in seven of which should be held the *pāśa*, the aṅkuśa, cakes, the kuṭhāra (a kind of axe), the *danta*, the *valaya* (a quoit), and the aṅgulīya (a ring); the remaining hand should be freely hanging so as to be helpful to the various movements of the dance. The colour of the body of this Gaṇeśa has to be golden yellow. To show that it is a dancing figure it is sculptured with the left leg slightly bent, resting on the *padmāsana* and the right leg also bent and held up in the air. The sculptures of this figure have generally only four hands, but not eight as in the description given above".

It will be seen from the above account that these two authoritative books dealing exclusively or in part with the iconography of Gaṇeśa do not contain any picture or a description of Dancing Gaṇeśa in bronze.

I, therefore, propose to give below a detailed description of a metal image of Dancing Gaṇeśa in the possession of Dr. H. G. Moghe, the renowned Dental Surgeon of Bombay.

This image (see fig. 1) of Dancing Gaṇeśa is of a metal alloy which is known as *pañcarasī-dhātu* and is solid-cast, weighing about 37 lbs. including the weight of the square stand and the *padmāsana* which are in bell-metal. The height of the image is 13 inches and the distance between the tips of the fingers of the upper right and left arms is 11 inches. The god wears a crown which is technically known as *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* and it is decorated with four plates shaped like broad spear-heads, marked with line-designs. There is no third eye in the forehead, and the broad ears touch the shoulders on either side. There is a scarf on the shoulder, with its ends reaching a little below the shoulder-blades in the front. There are three necklaces and the

tooth on the right is broken. The figure has four hands. The upper right, the lower right and the lower left hands respectively hold the *aṅkuśa*, the broken tooth and a *modaka*. Even while it holds the broken tooth, the lower right hand is in the *varada mudrā* and the upper left hand is extended in the *gaja-hasta* or the *śuṇḍā-hasta* pose. There are two sacred threads : the *uras-sūtra* reaching as far as the ribs under the right shoulder and the usual *yajñopavīta* reaching the right thigh. There are bracelets on the wrists and armlets on the upper arms. The thumbs and the index fingers appear to have rings and there is a *mekhalā* or a waist-band on the waist. The trunk turns gracefully to the left, with its tip in the act of grasping the *modaka* in the lower left hand. The god is standing on his left leg which is slightly bent at the knee and the right leg is held up in the air with the toes pointing vertically downwards. The feet are decorated with ancklets and some other ornament extending from the heal to the toes. The palms of the hands are marked with four lines each, but they are not the lines described in palmistry. The hands, the legs and the fingers are all short and rounded and the whole image is executed in such graceful lines that it arrests the attention of an artistically-minded person. The image stands on a circular *padmapīṭha* or *padmāsana* which is 2.5 inches in height. It is fixed on a square seat measuring 6.5 inches in length and width and 3 inches in height. It has got two rods or pegs on either side for supporting the clasps of the *prabhāvalaya* which is, however, missing in the present case.

When the photo-copies of this bronze, along with those of the female figure to be described in the sequel, were sent to Dr. J. Ph. Vogel of the Kern Institute, Leiden, Holland and Dr. B. Bhattacharya of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, they greatly appreciated them and suggested to me that I should prepare a descriptive note on both of these bronzes. In his letter to me, dated the 6th November 1948, Dr. Vogel thus writes about this Dancing Gaṇeśa : "I am inclined to think that it is of Buddhistic origin, but am unable to offer any further suggestions. In case you could let me have another set for the Kern Institute, it would be a welcome addition to our photographic collection. The two images are

decidedly of great interest [1]. " Dr. Bhattacharya also testifies to the great importance of this image when he writes, "This image is rare and you can write an article on it [2]."

As to Dr. Vogel's remark that the image is of Buddhistic origin, I would like to point out that according to Miss Getty, the Buddhistic images of Gaṇeśa frequently hold a large radish [3], but our image only holds a broken tooth. I have not been able to trace any verses which refer to Dancing Gaṇeśa with four hands only. But it is reasonable to believe that the artists could not have cast such images merely according to their fancy but they must have cast them only in strict conformity with the texts in the *Śilpaśāstras*. Therefore it is best to leave the question whether the image is Hindu or Buddhist an open one.

It may be pointed out that the fig *a* on plate 16 in Miss Getty's *Gaṇeśa* bears great resemblance to our figure in many points. An image of Dancing Gaṇeśa in the Madras Government Museum [4] also closely resembles our image. But the left leg of the image in the Madras Govt. Museum is unfortunately broken from the calf, and the way it is broken suggests that the image must be in stone and not in bronze, so that the image of Dancing Gaṇeśa described above is the *unique* specimen of a *complete* image of Dancing Gaṇeśa *in bronze* as far as our knowledge goes at present.

II

A Buddhist Female Figure

The other figure in the possession of Dr. Moghe is a Buddhist female figure. He discovered it in the jumbled collection of old brass utensils and such other articles at the shop of a dealer in

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[1] I may here add that Dr. Moghe has accordingly sent four enlarged photographs, 1 of Dancing Gaṇeśa and 3 of the female figure as his gift to the Kern Institute.

[2] From his letter to me, dated the 15th June 1948.

[3] *Gaṇeśa*, p. 31 : "In his upper right hand he holds a symbol which is unknown, as a rule, in India : a large radish, attribute which is frequently met with on the Buddhist images of Gaṇeśa in Nepal and Tibet...it seems probable...that the radish is a misrepresentation of the Hindu symbol of the tusk...".

[4] I am thankful to my friend Dr. C. Kunhan Raja for sending me a photograph of this image.

old brass-ware at Bombay. When purchased it bore marks of sandle paste, indicating that until it was disposed off to the agent of the dealer it was worshipped by its unknown devotee.

It is hollow-cast, with patches of the same metal on the back and on the back of the two arms. As can be gathered from the patches of gold-gilt that are now left, originally it must have been heavily gold-gilt all over. The image is not preserved in a perfect condition, like that of the Dancing Gaṇeśa described above. The stand (*pīṭha* or *āsana*) and the two supports at the back were not found with the image and they are prepared very skilfully by a talented sculptor of Bombay, and they go so well with the whole figure that unless it is declared, their being modern cannot be detected from the photograph (see fig. 4). The height of the figure which is nude is 12 inches (see fig. 3) and the maximum width is 6.5 inches. The image has a flat face, with high cheek-bones, resembling a Mongolian or a Tibetan face. It has a crown of eight *cakras*, each surmounted with a skull. There are three eyes and the lips are a little parted, with fangs showing outside the lower lip. These with the knitted eyebrows effectively bring out the angry but not ferocious aspect of the image. There are only two hands; the right hand which is raised up and bent almost at a right angle at the elbow, holds a chopper or *karttṛkā* and the left hand holds an artistic and oval-shaped bowl probably containing congealed blood There are three necklaces, one of them reaching the naval and a garland of fifty skulls. There is a scarf, gracefully curved throughout, passing behind the head, over the shoulders in the front, and behind the thighs; the end of it on the right forms a loop and turns upwards. The hair (see fig. 4) are combed down in 11 strands and curl up at the ends. The image is in the dancing pose; the toes of the left foot are resting on the *padmāsana* and those of the right foot which is raised up, touch the calf of the left leg. The girdle on the waist is heavily ornamented. There are large circular earrings and some big ornament is also seen behind the upper tips of the ears. There are armlets and four or five bangles on the wrists. The head of a lion on top of the head of the female figure is the most important feature of this bronze (see fig. 2).

While it is very difficult to describe, graphically and accurately, all the details of this highly artistically fashioned image, the task of identifying it is almost baffling, if not impossible. That the image is Buddhistic is, however, quite clear from the crown of eight *cakras* surmounted with skulls. Dr. Bhattacharya and Dr. Vogel whom I had consulted for the identification of the image are inclined to identify it with the Buddhist Dākiṇī Siṁhavaktrā. Dr. Bhattacharya, in his letter to me under date 15th June 1948 writes :

"The second image tentatively identified as Vajra Vārāhī has certain doubtful points. If as you say the head is not that of a boar, the identification has to be abandoned in favour of Siṁhāsyā, one of the four animal-headed deities. These are Hayāsyā, Śūkarāsyā, Śvānāsyā and Siṁhāsyā occurring in the Hevajra Maṇḍala. They are sometimes four-faced and sometimes one-faced. When one-faced they carry *Kartrī* and *Kapāla* uniformly."

Dr. Vogel, in his letter dated the 6th November 1948, communicated to me the opinion of Dr. P. H. Pott, the learned Curator of the Kern Institute, according to whom "the image represents the Dākinī Siṁhamukhī or Siṁhavaktrā, as is evident from the head-dress in which you have rightly recognized a lion's head". Dr. Pott also kindly supplied exact references to two representations of the Siṁhavaktrā in two books viz. *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism* by Antoinette H. Gordon (New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, p. 80) and *the Mythologie des Buddhismus* by Grünwhedel (Leipzig, 1900, p. 73, fig. 148). Out of the two books I could get only the first in the Bombay University Library, the second was not available to me.

According to Miss Gordon (p. 80), the Dākiṇīs are feminine divinities of lesser rank. They are generally invoked for the granting of superhuman powers or *siddhi*. They comprise the following forms :

The usual forms are either pacific or angry; wear ornaments of bones; are nude and are generally in dancing attitude. They may wear Bodhisattva or Dharmapāla crown and ornaments and sometimes they have the third eye. The special forms are generally of fierce aspect, sometimes animal-headed and they wear Dharma-

pāla ornaments [1]. On p. 35, the five forms of the Dākinīs mentioned are Siṁhavaktrā, Makaravaktrā, Vajravārāhī, Ṛkṣavaktrā and Vyāghravaktrā.

Out of the several characteristics of the Dākinīs mentioned by Miss Gordon, being angry, being nude, wearing princely ornaments, being in a dancing attitude and having the third eye are the characteristics which are applicable to our image and we may identify her as a Dākinī. But the illustration of the Dākinī Siṁhavaktrā, facing p. 80 of Miss Gordon's book, shows that she has *the face of a lion* and she is dancing on a human figure. As the original stand of our image is missing, we cannot say whether she was dancing on a human figure or not. But our image differs from the Siṁhavaktrā in one important respect. Our image has a *human face* with a lion's head in her crest. She cannot also be called Vajravārāhī, who has an excrescence like a boar's head on the left side [2], while our image has nothing corresponding to this.

It is better to state, under the circumstances, that our image belongs to the class of Buddhistic Dākinīs, but the exact identification, which will have to explain satisfactorily the significance of the lion's head in the crest, awaits further research [3].

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[1] Dharmapāla ornaments and garments— they are princely ornaments and garments worn by the angry or fierce manifestations of some of the deities p. 39, of Miss Gordon's book.

[2] Miss Gordon, *Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism*, p. 81.

[3] This paper was originally prepared for publication in the *Gode Festschrift*, but as the projected volume could not be published, I would like to dedicate this paper as my humble and grateful tribute of respect to Prof. P. K. Gode.

A NOTE ON THE ŚUṄGA INSCRIPTION FROM AYODHYĀ

By

S. K. Dikshit

In the year 1924, one Babu Jagannath Das, the manager of the estate of Raja of Ayodhyā, came across a lithic record, which received in later days the honour of being one of the most widely-commented inscriptions of the post-Mauryan and pre-Gupta period. Yet, despite the interest betrayed about it by scholars, a satisfactory interpretation of some words occurring in it is still to be sought after. When Pt. Jayaswal published this record, he took it to belong to " one of the brothers of the great Puṣyamitra", evidently taking the expression : " Puṣyamitrasya ṣaṣṭhena " occurring in it to mean " by the sixth (brother) of Puṣyamitra ". Indeed, when he gives this translation, he remarks : ' " The sixth of Puṣyamitra " I have taken to be the sixth brother of Puṣyamitra on the authority of Bhāsa who uses *madhyama* to denote " the second brother. "[1] '

In this view, he was supported by Dr. A. P. Banerji, who argued that if a descendant of Puṣyamitra were meant, we would have "Puṣyamitrat ṣaṣthena" instead of "Puṣyamitrasya ṣaṣthena." [2]

As against this view, there are two others that can be proposed, viz. , that that disputed exression means : " by the sixth (son) of Puṣyamitra, " or that it stands for : " by the sixth (descendant) of Puṣyamitra ". The learned world is saved the trouble of taking into consideration the former alternative seriously, because of the want of support from any modern scholar. But the other alternative has been proposed by a number of scholars, including Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, [3] Pt. Gaurisankar Ojha, Mr. N. G. Majumdar, [4] and others. Of these, Mr. N. G. Majumdar has made a detailed study of the palaeographical peculiarities of this record, and has given his

1 Modern Review, (1924), p. 431 f.

2 Ibid., (1925), p. 60.

3 Ibid., p. 202.

4 Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, VII, p. 160.

considered verdict that "Chronologically the present inscription will have to be placed not only after these records (viz., the Besnagar Inscription of Heliodoros, and the Bharhut Toraṇa Inscription of the time of the Śuṅgas), but also the Hāthīgumpha Inscription of Khāravela, which on palaeographic and other grounds has been assigned by Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda to the first century B. C., and thus forms an intermediate stage between the Śuṅga and Kṣatrapa alphabets "[1]. Mr. Majumdar then goes on to point out that the poet Kālidāsa has used a similar expression in the Raghu-vaṁśa, viz., "pañcamaṁ Takṣakasya,[2]" which provides an exact and and early parallel to the expression, that has become a point of dispute. The great popular commentator, Mallinātha, has unfortunately missed the purport of this passage in the Raghu-vaṁśa, who refers it to " the fifth son of Takṣaka[3] ". But as Mr. N. G. Majumdar points out, no less than three commentators, Vallabhadeva, Dinakara and Caritra-vardhana, take this expression to stand for the "grandson of grandson of Takṣaka[4] ". On these, and more especially on palaeographic grounds, he ascribes this Śuṅga inscription of Ayodhyā to the first century A. D.

We may state here that we ourselves are in general agreement with the palaeographical arguments set forth by Mr. Majumdar, though, for a number of considerations, that need not be specified here, we are disposed to place this record rather in the first century B.C., than in the first century A.D. In this note, we propose to confine ourselves only to the literary aspect of the inscription, connected with the phrase " Puṣyamitrasya ṣaṣṭhena, " without reconsidering the palaeographical aspect, dealt with so ably by Mr. Majumdar. Although the meaning assigned to it by Mr. Majumdar, following the three ancient commentators, is (and is generally taken to be) correct, the high authority of Mallinātha may raise a doubt about it in the minds of some scholars, who are likely to be disposed

[1] Ibid., p. 161.

[2] Raghu., XVI. 88:—

" इत्थं नागस्त्रिभुवनगुरोरौरसं मैथिलेयं लब्ध्वा बन्धुं तमपि च कुशः पञ्चमं तक्षकस्य ।"

[3] Mallinātha on the above :—

" कुशोऽपि च तक्षकस्य पञ्चमं पुत्रं तं कुमुदं बन्धुं लब्ध्वा... "

[4] Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, VII, p. 162

to regard it as a question, still open to dispute. It is with a view to meet such a contingency that we propose to write here.

A word to word translation of the above-mentioned phrase is "the sixth of Puṣyamitra;" but such a translation is absolutely meaningless, unless we try to understand the meaning of the idiom in this phrase, current in the original language. With a view to determine, therefore, the meaning of the idiom, I have tried to collect as many examples containing the same idiom, as I could.

One such example is to be found in the Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa of Rāja-śekhara. In the prologue (prastāvanā) to this work, the author describes himself as "the fourth of Akāla-jalada" ("Akāla-jaladasya caturthaḥ[1]"). In the prologue to another of his numerous works, named "Viddha-śāla-bhañjikā," Rāja-śekhara himself explains, unintentionally though, the meaning of this expression, when he calls himself "the great grand-son of Akāla-jalada" ("Akāla-jaladasaya praṇaptṛ"[2]). From this it is clear that such expressions, as "Puṣyamitrasya ṣaṣṭha", etc., refer to the generation to which the person referred to belongs; it goes without saying that this is counted from an ancestor like Puṣyamitra, and is inclusive of both this person and the person, referred to as the descendant.

In the Sūkti-muktāvali of Jahlaṇa occurs a stanza, which begins with the query as to 'which number in descent you are from the poet Vālmīki, or what your relation with Vyāsa is,'[3] and so forth. In the Matsya Purāṇa, reference is made to Yayāti being "an ancestor of ours, and (also) the tenth (in descent) from Prajāpati.[4]" The same sentence occurs *verbatim* in the Ādi-parvan of the Mahābhārata (BORI ed., I. 71. 1), at the commencement of a

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1 Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa, Prastāvanā:—
"तदामुष्यायणस्य महाराष्ट्रचूडामणेरकालजलदस्य चतुर्थो... श्रीराजशेखरः..."

2 Viddha-śāla-bhañjikā, (ed. Jivanand Vidyasagar, Calcutta, 1883), p.4:-
"तदकालजलदस्य प्रणप्तुः"

3 Sūkti-muktāvali, Prastāvanā, (GOS. ed.), p. 33:—
"वाल्मीकेः कतमोऽसि, कस्त्वमथवा व्यासस्य..."

4 Matsya P., 25, 4:—
"ययातिः पर्वजोऽस्माकं दशमो यः प्रजापतेः"

section, which either text may have borrowed from the other. In all these cases it is possible to argue that here it is not the possessive (or genitive) case, but the ablative case, that is used. In the Harivaṁśa Purāṇa occurs a passage, in which it is clearly the ablative case that is used to denote the descent of Dvaipāyana from Pitāmaha [1]. Similarly, and in contradistinction with the tradition about Yayāti (found in the Matsya Purāṇa and the Mahābhārata), there occurs in the Great Epic another tradition about his father Nahuṣa, according to which Nahuṣa, son of Āyu, was " the fifth from (i. e. the fifth descendant of) Soma.[2] " It is perhaps on the basis of such examples that Dr. A. P. Banerji averred that in the case of a descendant, we would have had in the Śuṅga inscription from Ayodhyā " Puṣyamitrāt ṣaṣṭhena " instead of " Puṣyamitrasya ṣaṣṭhena. "

In reality, however, it is quite immaterial whether it is the possessive (or genitive) case, or it is the ablative case, that is used. The rule " śeṣe ṣaṣṭhī " is well applicable here, to allow the use of the possessive case, to indicate the descent. We, however, actually possess one important instance, wherein the genitive case has been used frequently.[3] This is to be found in an inscription of the fifteenth century, and it serves to dispel any lurking doubts as to both the meaning of such an expression, and the use of the genitive case. In addition, we have before us the famous instance of the poet Bhavabhuti, claiming in the Mahāvīra-carita to be the " fifth (descendant) of a great poet," a grand-son of Bhaṭṭa-Gopāla, a son

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1 Harivaṁśa, I. i. 8:—

" पितामहाद्यं प्रवदन्ति षष्ठं... नारायणस्यांशजमेकपुत्रं द्वैपायनं... "

2 Mbh. (BORI ed.), III. 177. 6:—

' नहुषो नाम राजाहमासं पूर्वस्तवानघ । पञ्चमः प्रथितः सोमादायोः पुत्रो नराधिप ॥ '

3 Epigraphia Indica, III, p. 241 :—

" तत्सन्ततौ शन्तनुस्तत्तुर्यो विजयोऽभिमन्युरुदभूत्तस्मात्परीक्षित्ततः ॥ नन्दस्तस्याष्टमोऽभूत्समजनि नवमस्तस्य राज्ञश्चलिक्कस्मापस्तत्सप्तमः श्रीपतिरुचिरभवद्राजपूर्वो नरेन्द्रः । तस्यासीदुज्जलेन्द्रो दशम इह नृपो वीरहेमालिरायस्तार्तीयीको मुरारौ कृतनतिरुदभूत्तस्य मायापुरीशः ॥ तत्तुर्योऽजनि तातपिन्नममहीपालो... "

of Nīlakaṇṭha, and so forth.[1] Thus, Mr. Majumdar is quite correct in asserting that " It is...not a fact that Sanskrit idiom would require fifth case to the *Puṣyamitra* to indicate descent,[2] " – – a statement, which appears to have been ignored by Dr. D. C. Sircar. Probably influenced by Dr. A. P. Banerji's arguments, the latter asserts (contra Majumdar's statement) that " Sanskrit usage would require Puṣyamitrāt; but the language of the record is influenced by Prakrit[3] ". Dr. Sircar goes on to add that the descent may be either in paternal line or in maternal line; but this appears to be hypercritical, if not even preposterous, since all these descents were reckoned only in the paternal line.

[1] Mahāvīra-carita, I (Prastāvanā) :—

' तदामुष्यायणस्य तत्रभवतो वाजपेययाजिनो महाकवेः पञ्चमः, सुगृहीतनाम्नो भट्टगोपालस्य पौत्रः, पवित्रकीर्तेर्नीलकण्ठस्यात्मसंभवः... ... '

The commentator Vīra-rāghava explains as follows :—

' महाकवेः पञ्चमः पौत्रः पौत्रस्य पौत्रः ।'

This supports the view that the reckoning is inclusive of both the ancestor and the descendant. Perhaps, Mahākavi is here only a name.

[2] Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, VII, p. 162.

[3] Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* (1942), p. 96, fn. 3.

WORKS OF ŚRĪDHARĀCĀRYA

By

Sabal Singh

The following stanza appearing at the close of 'Triśatikā' proclaims his fame :—

उत्तरतो हिमनिलयं दक्षिणतो मलयपर्वतं यावत् ।
प्रागपरोदधिमध्ये नो गणकः श्रीधरादन्यः ॥

"There does not live a greater mathematician than Śrīdhara in the land between the Himālayas in the north, the Malaya Parvata in the south and between the eastern and western seas ".

The famous Śrīdharācārya is referred to in ancient books on mathematics as the author of three books on mathematics namely Algebra (बीजगणित), Triśatikā and pāṭīgaṇita of which Triśatikā is a compendium. In " Catalogus Catalogrum " by Aufrecht, a German savant, Śrīdharācārya is referred to on pages 668–69 as an Astronomer and writer of the book Śrīdharī Jyotiṣa (श्रीधरी ज्योतिष) but this book by Śrīdhara is neither available nor has it been referred to by any ancient Hindu Mathematician.

I am giving below a short account of all the three books referred to above.

(1) *Algebra* (बीजगणित):- At the close of Bhāsakarācārya's treatise on algebra appears the following stanza:-

ब्रह्माह्वयः श्रीधरपद्मनाभः बीजानि यस्मादतिविस्तृतानि ।
आदाय तत्सारमकारि नूनं सद्युक्तियुक्तं लघु शिष्यतुष्ट्यै ॥

" Algebraic treatises by Brahmgupta, Śrīdhara and Padmanābha are very elaborate and I have composed my treatise on algebra in a condensed form on the basis of the works of the above mathematicians.

This is enough to make us believe that the treatise on algebra by Śrīdharācārya must have been very exhaustive.

At another place in his algebra Bhāskara has stated Śrīdhara's rule given below :—

श्रीधराचार्यसूत्रम् :—

चतुराहतवर्गसमैः रूपैः पक्षद्वयं गुणयेत् ।
अव्यक्तवर्गरूपैर्युक्तौ पक्षौ ततो मूलम् ॥

for solving the quadratic equation and on this very principle Bhāskara has been able to solve those equations. Śrīdhara has also been referred to by Bhāskara as Bījagaṇitakārā. All these references go to prove that Śrīdhara was a renowned algebraist and wrote a very exhaustive book on algebra, but unfortunately the book has not been found as yet.

(2) *Triśatika* :— This work by Śrīdharācārya is also known by the names Triśatī and Pāṭīgaṇitasāra.

The title of this book " Triśatikā " is given on account of the single sentence :—

इति श्रीधराचार्यकृता त्रिशतिकापाटी समाप्ता ॥

given at the end of the text which means " Here ends the arithmetic of Triśatikā written by Śridharācārya ".

Sudhākara Dvivedi in his introduction to his printed Triśatikā writes:- " There are eight verses in the first chapter on definitions. Other chapters contain 65 verses for rules and 107 verses for examples and one hundred and twenty Nyāsas. Thus the total of these comes to about three hundred and therefore the work has been given the title of " Triśatikā by the modern mathematicians. "

The title " Triśatī " of this book is derived from the commentary by Sambhatilaka Sūri on Gaṇita Tilaka wherein on pages 4, 9 and 39 the work well known as Triśatikā by Śrīdhara is referred to as " Triśati ".

The first verse of the text :—

नत्वा शिवं स्वविरचितपाट्या गणितस्य सारमुद्धृत्य ।
लोकव्यवहाराय प्रवक्ष्यति श्रीधराचार्यः ।

" Having bowed to God Śiva, Śrīdharācārya sets forth for the public use the essence of Gaṇita extracted from pāṭī (gaṇita) " gives this book title ' Pātīgaṇitasāra. '

Therefore this very ' Triśatikā, ' as proved by Colebrooke, is ' Pātīgaṇitasāra ' which is described as ' Triśatīgaṇitasāra ' in the list of books by Aufrecht.

Only manuscripts of the text are available from Gujrat, N. W. P. and Benares. The manuscripts of the commentaries by Virandaban Sukla and Sambhunath are available from N. W. P. and Gujrat respectively.

The one and the only printed form of Text edited by Sudhakara Dvivedi in 1899 is available from Benares.

The main rules of 'Triśatikā' edited by Sudhakara Dvivedi, Benares, 1899 have been translated into English by N. Ramanuja-charia and published with notes and comments by G. R. Kaye in the Bibliotheca Mathematica vol. XIII(3), 1912113 on page 203.

The manuscript of 'Triśatikā' which Sudhakar Dvivedi consulted for publishing the work was full of mistakes as he himself in his introduction to 'Triśatikā' says "I discovered the copies of 'Triśatikā' to be full of mistakes. I have taken great pains to correct them. Although I have given this 'Triśatikā' for publication after having explained the difficulties with my annotations, yet it should be looked into with great care by the lovers of ancient learning."

Rāmānujācārya in his introduction to the English translation of the rules of 'Triśatikā' writes "The text used in his translation of the rules of Triśatikā is that edited by the late Sudhakar Dvivedi whose extensive knowledge of Hindu mathematics and Astronomical works and his unique opportunity are some guarantee that it is as sound as it can be."

(3) '*Pāṭīgaṇita*' :—

This is the third book which Śrīdhara wrote on arithmetic of which 'Triśatikā' (Pāṭīgaṇitasāra) has been mentioned by Śrīdhara himself as a compendium in the beginning of Triśatikā in words already quoted.

Śrīdhara has been mentioned as the author of this book wherever reference to the works of Śrīdhara occurs. But just like algebra this book has not been found as yet either in the printed form or as a manuscript. Naturally the anxiety of lovers of ancient Hindu methematics has been very great to find out this important book on arithmetic by Śrīdhara, especially when, even its comependium, Triśatīkā, is itself an important document covering practically all such topics as are covered by Bhāskara's Līlāvatī,- a book which is thought even upto the present time as a text book on arithmetic, in Sanskrit schools and colleges.

Those Indian or foreign mathematicians who took up the hard task of studying and discovering the ancient Hindu works on mathematics could not find any manuscripts other than those of ' Triśatikā ' (Pāṭīgaṇitasāra) of Śrīdhara, though the refernences to Algebra and Pāṭīgaṇita by Śrīdhara were available in the works on mathematics.

After taking up the study of Śrīdhara and his works as a subject, I tried my best to find, in addition to Triśatikā, his two other works namely algebra and ' Pāṭīganita, ' in some of the important Libraries of northern India including Rajputana. I also consulted the catalogues of the manuscripts on Mathematics and journals issued from the Bhandarkar Oreintal Research Institute, Poona etc. I saw all the manuscripts lying in the Saraswati Bhawan, Benares and and also the private libraries of the renowned Joytiṣācāryas, but could not discover these two lost but important works of Śrīdharācārya.

After a great labour, I discovered a manuscript of ' Pāṭīgaṇita ' by Śrīdhara, among other manuscripts on Hindu mathematics, lying in the mathematics section of the Lucknow University. My joy on the discovery of this lost book knew no bounds, especially as it had not been discovered by any foreign or Indian research scholars upto this time and also because it advances immensely the knowledge of its important author Śrīdhara and his works, who upto this time was known only through his single book 'Triśatikā'. I have brought to light the contents of this manuscript of the ' Pātīgaṇita ' by translating the rules and examples into English and by introducing additional words in brackets in order to make the meanings of the ' Sūtras ' clear to the reader.

The rules and examples in the manuscript are given in Sanskrit in the form of ' Sūtras ' (which are commented on, explained and the examples solved also in Sanskrit). The name of the commentator is not mentioned anywhere in the manuscript and it is difficult to say whether the author himself is a commentator or some one else has written the commentary. All the rules and most of the examples are in Āryā metre. The manuscript contains 157 leaves written on both the sides in the devnāgarī scripts. The size of the page is 14.7" by 9.9" and contains 9 lines a page. The rules and examples are numbered by me in my English translation according to the matter contained therein.

DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE ŚABDARATNA AND THE BṚHAT-ŚABDARATNA

By

K. V. Abhyankar

1 The Siddhānta-Kaumudī of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita is a well-known work on Pāṇini's Grammar. It has a useful commentary named Manoramā written by the author himself. On this Manoramā Hari Dīkṣita, the grandson of Bhaṭṭoji, wrote a scholarly gloss Laghu-Śabda-Ratna popularly called Śabda-Ratna. These three works, the Siddhānta Kaumudī, the Manoramā and the Śabda-Ratna, (Laghu-Śabda-Ratna) are all printed and are available in Manuscript form also. They are studied by students of Grammar in almost all Sanskrit Pāṭha Śālās. There is another detailed and exhaustive commentary on the Manoramā known by the name Bṛhat-Śabda-Ratna which is not printed, but a few manuscripts of it are available with well known families of Sanskrit Grammarians at different places.

2 The Siddhānta Kaumudī has another brilliant commentary, the Laghu-Śabdendu Śekhara, written by Mahāmahopādhyāya Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa, a pupil of Hari Dīkṣita. This Laghu Śabdendu-Śekhara, which is an abridgment of the author's own work, the Bṛhat-Śabdendu-Śekhara available in Manuscript form only, is studied by pupils after they have learnt the important portions of the Manoramā and the Śabda-Ratna. The Laghu-Śabdendu-Śekhara, popularly known as Śekhara, has a very large number of commentaries some of which are printed while others are in Manuscript form. The well known among these are-- (1) the Cidasthimālā of Pāyaguṇḍe (2) the Candrakalā by Bhairava Miśra, (3) the Tilaka by Sadāśivābhaṭṭa, (4) the Jyotsnā by Udayaṅkara, (5) the Viṣamī by Rāghavendrācārya, (6) the Vivaraṇa by Bhāskara Shastri Abhyankar, (7) the Varavarṇinī by Guruprasāda Shastri and (8) the Gūḍhārtha-Prakāśa by M. M. Vasudeva Shastri Abhyankar.

3 It is well known to Grammarians that Nāgeśa by virtue of his vast erudition, sound scholarship and intellectual acumen, held in some respects views different from those held by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and also by Hari Dīkṣita. Scholars of Grammar in the 18th

and the 19th centuries were sometimes divided as (1) the adherents of the old (Bhaṭṭoji's) tradition and (2) the followers of the new (Nāgeśa's) tradition, and it is believed that Nilakantha Shastri Thatte was deputed ;by the Peshwa Darbar at the close of the 18th century to Banaras to get a first hand acquaintance with the new tradition represented by Nāgeśa's well known works.

4 Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita is believed to have flourished in the first half of the 17th century, Hari Dīkṣita after the middle of the 17th and Nāgeśa at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries. Nāgeśa had a long life and Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍe who was his pupil in his old age, lived in Banaras in the last quarter of the 18th century. Nilakantha Shastri lived in Poona in the first quarter of the 19th century and two of his pupils Rāghavendrācārya Gajendragadkar and Bhāskara Shāstri Abhyankar in Satara in the second quarter. The lineage of the pupils of Bhāskara Shāstri lived in Banaras in the latter half of the 19th century, the most reputed among whom was Bāl Shāstri Rānade alias Bālasarasvatī. The present Pandits at Banaras claim Bālasarasvatī as their grand preceptor or great grand preceptor. The present Pandits in the Deccan are most of them pupils of M.M. Vasudev Shastri Abhyankar who was both the grandson and pupil's pupil of Bhaskara Shastri. All the scholars quoted above, have made a substantial literary contribution to the new school of thought started by Nāgeśa.

5 There is a contention of some scholars that the author of the Laghu-Śabda-Ratna cannot be the same as the author of the Bṛhat-Śabda-Ratna, as the Laghu-Śabda-Ratna in some respects expresses views different from those expressed in the Brhat-Śabda-Ratna. At a few places there are found arguments and thoughts similar to those expressed by Nāgeśa the writer of both the Śekharas. On account of this closeness of thought at a few places only, as also on the strengh of a kind of belief current in some Grammar schools during the last century that Nāgeśa, the pupil, wrote the Laghu-Śabda-Ratna and attributed it to his preceptor Hari Dīkṣita, these scholars go to the length ot saying that Nāgeśa, and not Hari Dīkṣita, was the real author of the Laghu-Śabda-Ratna.

6 The aim of the present article is to see whether this contention can stand. Although the Bṛhat-Śabda-Ratna is about three

times in bulk as compared to the Laghu-Śabda-Ratna and many of the lines for elucidation (Pratīkas) in the Bṛhat-Śabda-Ratna are not found in the Laghu-Śabda-Ratna, still there is not only a striking similarity of style and thought in the topics common to both the works, but at several places the expressions in both the works are identical. To crown all, the author himself has expressed in the Laghu-Śabda-Ratna at the end of the Taddhita and the Kṛdanta sections that the reader for further elucidation should refer to the Bṛhat-Śabda-Ratna written by himself as also to the Laghu-Śabdendu-Śekhara and Mañjūṣā written by his favourite pupil Nāgeśa (विस्तरस्तु अस्मत्कृते बृहच्छब्दरत्ने मदन्तेवासिकृतलघुशब्देन्दुशेखरमञ्जूषयोश्च द्रष्टव्यः)

7 The truth appears therefore to be that Hari Dīkṣita first wrote the exhaustive commentary Bṛhat-Śabda-Ratna on his grand father's work the Manoramā. Then his brilliant pupil Nāgeśa chose to write an equally exhaustive commentary on the Sidhānta Kaumudī itself, the Bṛhat-Śabdendu-Śekhara by name, which Nāgeśa himself later on made shorter and styled it the Laghu-Śabdendu-Śekhara, so as to make it suitable for study by young pupils in Grammar schools. Hari Dīkṣita, the worthy preceptor of a worthy pupil, not only appreciated the brilliant remarks at places made by his pupil in his works the Śekharas, in spite of their being opposed in spirit to Bhaṭṭoji's writings, but gave them a room in his own brief compendium, the Laghu-Śabda-Ratna, which he wrote later on. This explains the similarity of views expressed in a few places in the Laghu-Śabda-Ratna and the Laghu-Śabdendu-Śekhara. The chronological order of the four works under discussion on the strength of the internal evidence can be stated as follows with almost a certainty:- First, the Bṛhat-Śabda-Ratna, then the Bṛhat-Śabdendu-Śekhara, then the Laghu-Śabdendu-Śekhara and lastly, the Laghu-Śabda-Ratna. This is enough to show that the author of the two Śabda-Ratnas is one and the same namely Hari Dīkṣita, and the contention referred to above, can hardly stand to reason.

A NOTE ON THE WORD *LĀVAṆYA*

BY

G. B. PALSULE

The word *lāvaṇya*, 'loveliness, beauty', is usually derived from the word *lavaṇa* with the affix *ya* (*ṣyañ*, Pāṇini 5, 1, 123). The difficulty with this interpretation is that the word *lavaṇa* itself means, 'salt, saline' only. The derivative *lāvaṇya* should therefore mean only saltness, or salineness. And from saltness to loveliness is rather a far cry, although the connection between the literal and the actual meaning might be sought to be established through some such stages as saltness, tastefulness and gracefulness leading finally to the idea of loveliness. It is true that Monier Williams gives 'handsome' and 'beautiful' among the meanings assigned to the word *lavaṇa*. But this word is not found to have been actually used in this sense. Nor does M. W. quote any such actual instance. It looks as if these meanings have been assigned to the word *lavaṇa* under the influence of, and with a view to explaining, the meaning 'loveliness' which is actually expressed by the word *lāvaṇya*. It is also significant that BR. do not assign the meaning lovely, to the word *lavaṇa*

I therefore propose another derivation for the word *lāvaṇya*. I think it comes from *rāmaṇya (*ramaṇa* [agent noun from the causal of √ ram] + *ya*) with *l* as a dialectic variation for *r* and *m* > *v* by a prakritic change. Like many other roots which show both *r* and *l* (cf. rabh : labh ; rih : lih : riś : liś ; rip : lip etc.) √ ram also has a side-form in *lam* (vide Whitney's Roots p. 146). The perfect form *lalāma* occurs in the following line from Harivaṁśa :

निगृहीतेन्द्रियो भूत्वा नाप्सरोभिर्ललाम ह ।

(12072 Cal. Ed.)

Nīlakaṇṭha paraphrases *lalāma* here by *rarāma*. We have also a derivative *lamaka* from it which the Uṇādi Sūtra 2, 33 derives from √ ram itself with change of *r* to *l*.

m is known to be changing to *v* in later languages. The instances are too many to require any actual citation. Though it is true that the instances of this phenomenon are rather rare in the Prakrits proper, the process must have begun very early, as remarked by Dr. Bhandarkar (Wilson Philological Lectures pp. 442–443) as it is common to a number of NIA languages.

It is significant to note that the form **rāmaṇya*, though it would have been quite a regular and legitimate formation, has never occurred in actual literature, though other derivatives having more or less the same sense, like *ramaṇīyatva* and rāmaṇīyaka are common enough. The explanation of this fact is to be found in the assumption that it came to be utterly ousted by the other form lāvaṇya.

TWO UDAIPORE FARMANS: THEIR OTHER SIDE

By

G. H. Khare

In part II of the Proceedings of the 28th Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Jaipur in December 1951, has been published a paper by Sh(aikh) Abdur Rashid, Reader in History, Muslim University, Aligadh, entitled 'Two *farmans* of Shāh Jahān to the Rāṇā of Udaipore' (pp. 74-77). The writer of this paper has, after some preliminary remarks, given the translations of the two *farmans* in question which he had prepared from their copies preserved in the library of Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Aligadh. Both the editor of the Proceedings and the writer of the paper have added explanatory foot-notes to it. As the *farmans* seem to be very important ones, I wish to express my views about them and the paper as well. [1]

(a) The writer in the very first paragraph remarks that the *farmans* were issued on the emperor's behalf by Shāh Jahān's famous *vazir* Allāmī Sādullāh. I doubt the validity of the statement. Could a *vazir* have issued a *farman* on an emperor's behalf especially in the early Mughal regime? He could have never, I believe. He could have issued some order; but it can never be termed a *farman*. Even the orders of viceroys or *Shahzadas* were never called *farmans*. Only the emperor's mandate was termed a *farman*. The above remark is therefore confusing. (b) Foot-note 4 asks us to believe that 'Amal-i-Ṣālih Vol. III, p. 160 tells us that three *parganas* were given to the Rāṇā because of his military assistance. But on referring to the work I find that there is no mention of the fact on the page referred to. P. 159 of the above work describes Shāh Jahān's weighing ceremony according to the lunar reckoning and p. 160 gives the list of the royal favours distributed on the 1st of Jumādā II, 1063 H. or the initial day of his 27th regnal year. In this list are indeed mentioned the gifts bestowed on Rāṇā Rājasingh;

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1 As the writer (Shaikh Abdur Rashid) was absent at the time of paper-reading, I could not discuss the points raised here on the spot. Hence the necessity of this note here.

but there is no reference to the gift of the three *parganas*, as stated by the writer in his paper. (c) In the translation of the first *farman* is mentioned one Pardman Gaur (p. 76, l. 17). 'Amal-i-Ṣālih Vol. III, p. 160 mentions one Bardahan Kaur. But the correct name should be Naradaman Gaud as given in Vīra Vinoda Vol. II, p. 401 and the defective Persian script permits us to decipher the words that way. (d) The correct conversion of 28 Jumādā I, regnal year 26, 1063 H. will be 17-4-1653 A. D. and not 1652 A. D. as given by the writer in the last but one line of page 76. (e) I cannot make out the original word which is translated as *drafted* in the last line of the same page. In a number of Mughal *farmans* I have found the word *barisalah* which I translate as 'through the medium of'. Drafter may be anybody ; but *farmans* were issued through the medium of certain personages such as ministers or the heads of departments. Some were issued through the premier, some through the revenue minister and so on. (f) In lines 23, 24 of the translation of the 2nd *farman* on p. 77 appears the sentence 'you should...send your son *Teeka*...' Here the writer has taken the word *Teeka* as a proper noun and the name of a son of Rāṇā Rājasingh. Sultānsingh being the name given in Vīra Vinoda Vol. II, p. 413, the secretary of the I. H. R. C. has noted the same that way in foot-note 5. But on referring to 'Amal-i-Ṣālih Vol. III, p. 195 and Shāh Jahān Nāmah as summarised in Elliot and Dowson Vol. VII, p. 103, I find that the words there are *pisar-i-Sahib-i-Tikah*, meaning a son fit for applying a *Tika* or *Tilaka* of an heir-apparent. *Tika*, therefore, is a common noun here. The *farman* if genuine, must have contained words carrying the above meaning. Therefore, either the copy or the translation of the *farman* must certainly be defective here. (g) *Farman* No. 2 is dated the 20th of Muharram, regnal year 28 of Shāh Jahān corresponding to 1065 H. (20-11-1654 A. D.) and was drafted by Allāmī Sādullāh. If the *farman* has been faithfully copied and correctly translated into English, these very facts raise the question about either the propriety and genuineness of the *farman* itself or the validity of the evidence furnished by 'Amal-i-Ṣālih and Inshā-i-Birahman or the collection of the writings (letters) of a Birahman i. e. Chandrabhān who figures in this *farman*. In the latter work are four *arzis* or pititions sent by

Chndrabhān to Shāh Jahān in this very connection (I quote from Vīra-Vinoda Vol. II, pp. 403-412 where they have been reproduced in extenso) and they are of immense value here[1]. In the 3rd *arzi* which seems to precede the 2nd, Chandrabhān informs the emperor Shāh Jahān that Rāṇā Rājasingh has decided to send his son to His Majesty and has asked him to make a start by pitching his tent outside Udaipore after the 7th *ghadi* of the night of Saturday and after the day-time of Friday in the month of Muḥarram. In the 2nd *arzi* he intimates the emperor that the Rāṇā has made his son pitch his tent outside Udaipore at the above-mentioned time. In the fourth *arzi* he informs the emperor thus: The news sent by this servant i. e. Chandrabhān, that during the night of Saturday the 4th of Muharram and at the above-stated point of time the Rāṇā's son has started to see His Majesty, must have reached His Majesty by this time. This servant and Shaikh ('Abd-ul-Karīm) with the Rāṇā's son have resumed their journey on Sunday morning, the 12th of Muḥarram to see His Majesty. This shows that this *arzi* must have been written immediately after the 12th of Muḥarram and by the time of writing it, his 2nd *arzi* must have reached the emperor. Now from 'Amal-i-Ṣālih Vol. III, p.196 we know that Chandrabhān, 'Abd-ul-Karīm and the Rāṇā's son saw Shāh Jahān on the 21st of Muḥarram, while Sādullāh-khān returned from his Chitor campaign on the 22nd of the same month and saw the emperor. It means that on the 20th of Muḥarram i. e. at the time of the issue of this *farman* the former three persons had reached very near to Shāh Jahān's camp and he must have received the news of their arrival. Sādullākhān was on the other hand two stages away from Shāh Jahān's camp. Where then is the propriety of issuing this *farman* which asks the Rāṇā to expedite in sending his son to the court when he was already only a stage away from the emperor's camp and when Chandrabhān had already informed the emperor of the definite starting and resuming the journey of the son in his and 'Abd-ul-Karīm s

1 In the Proceedings of the 18th (Mysore) Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission (1942 A. D.) has appeared a paper by Dr. B. P. Saksena which contains the partial text of the first *arzi* of Chandrabhān (pp. 105-107). But both Dr. Saksena and the editor of the Proceedings did not possibly know that the full text of the same *arzi* had already been published long ago in Vīra Vinoda.

company in his *arzis* which must have reached the emperor before the 20th of Muḥarram. Moreover how could Sadullāhkhān, who was two stages away from the emperor, draft this *farman* for the emperor ? If, therefore, the *farman* were a genuine one and if it has been faithfully copied and translated, the evidence of the two works mentioned above becomes invalid; but if the evidence of the two works be valid, either the *farman* must be a fabricated one or its copy or the rendering must be a defective one. These are the only alternatives to which we can arrive.

TWO EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

By

G. H. Khare

In Volume XVI of the journal Epigraphia Indica has been published the Bhamodra Mohota plate of Droṇasiṁha of the year 183 (pp. 17–19), in the third line of which the word after Śrī-bhagavatyāḥ has been deciphered as Pāṇḍurājyā(jā)yāḥ by the editor of the plate. Thinking that the word ought to have been Pāṇḍurājā he has suggested that kind of emendation in the bracket while giving the text. But in describing the purpose of the grant, he has noted this very name with a question mark after it. It is evident, therefore, that the editor was doubtful about this name though sure about the reading given by him.

But referring to the facsimile of the plate I find that the word has been misread. The reading of the letter ' ṇḍu ' is doubtful. To me there does not appear the sign of *u* in it. The word must naturally be read as Pāṇḍarājyāyāḥ. This new word is the possessive singular of the compound of two words Pāṇḍarā and Ajyā and Ajyā itself appears to be the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word Āryā. Now Pāṇḍarā is the name of the female counter-part of the male Buddhist god, the Divine or Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha. As such the name should naturally be preceded and followed by the words Bhagavatī and Āryā respectively. Thus it is clear that there was no necessity of the emendation in the reading of, and the question-mark after, the word Pāṇḍarājyāyāḥ as suggested by the editor of the grant.

In Epi. Ind. Vol. XIX has been published the Kalvan grant of one Yaśovarmman (pp. 69-75), the 25th line of which has been deciphered as ' Sve(Śve)tapada Jinālae(ye) Śrīmunisuvratadevāya Niva(e)dita... ' and translated as in the temple of Jina in the Śvetapada country. Believing in the accuracy of his decipherment, the editor of the plates has discussed at some length the extent of the Śvetapada country and has concluded that the same can be fairly determined now with the help of this grant. If the above reading is accepted, it looks rather curious that the drafter of the plates should note only the country in which the temple stood but neither the division nor the locality where it was situated ; for the mere mention of the country will leave the locality unspecified. It should again be noted that the grant was given at the instance of one Ammadeva who belonged to the Śvetāmbara sect. On referring to the facsimile of the grant I find that the word Śvetapada must better be deciphered as Śvetapaṭa and considering the Śvetāmbara sect of Ammadeva, it is certainly in the fitness of things to accept the new reading suggested by me. The phrase will then mean '...in the temple of Jina of the Śvetāmbara sect...' The entire discussion of the Sve (Śve) tapada country thus becomes superfluous and irrelevant if the new reading is accepted. The palaeography of the plates undoubtedly supports my reading.

REVIEWS

THE NARRATIVE OF BHOJA (*Bhojaprabandha*) by Ballāla of Benares. Translated from Sanskrit by Louis H. Gray. American Oriental Series, Vol. 34. American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, U. S. A. 1950. Double Cr. pp. 109. Price not stated.

The *Bhojaprabandha* of Ballāla (end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th c. A. D.) continues to charm the lovers of Sanskrit even to this day, inspite of its utter disregard for chronology. Dealing mainly with the literary exploits of king Bhoja and Kālidāsa, the two illustrious personalities of the mediaeval and ancient India, separated from each other by no less than seven centuries, it also huddles together other famous poets like Vararuci, Daṇḍin, Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti only to represent them as contemporaries of the far-famed Bhoja of the 11th century. Hence its historical value is nil. Even the sequence of the two immediate predecessors of Bhoja is wrongly given. But the delightful stories lose nothing of their flavour by this chronological chaos. The reader is pleased to follow the battles of wit and humour among the poets, and of the proverbial liberality of Bhoja 'who gave a lac for every syllable'. The narrative is enlivened by choice verses drawn from poets of many centuries.

The great popularity of the *Bhojaprabandha* can be seen from the fact that it has been translated into several Indian languages such as Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Marathi and Telugu. It was also translated into English by Saradaprasad Vidyabhushan of Calcutta in 1919.

Professor Louis Gray has earned the gratitude of the serious students of Sanskrit by his careful translation of the well-known prose romance of Subandhu, which almost defies attempts at translation on account of its 'pun on every word'. Comparatively speaking, the translation of the *Bhojaprabandha* was a soft job. But Prof. Gray gives us much more than a mere translation. The foot-notes facilitate the understanding and appreciation of the

work. The Introduction deals with the date of the author, the borrowings in the *Bhojaprabandha* from Merutuṅga's *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi*, the style of the work, other works of Bhoja and the two recensions of the *Bhojaprabandha*. Of the three Appendices, those on the poets quoted in the *Bhojaprabandha*" and the "Lexicographical Additions" are of great value to critical students. The inclusion of the original Sanskrit text would have been a highly desirable feature of this volume.

N. A. Gore

THE DVAITĀDHVAKAṆṬAKODDHĀRA by Pandit Nagaraja Sarma. Dm. 80 pp. ix, 85. Kumbhakonam, 1943. Price Rs. 2.

Pandit Nagaraja Sarma has himself laid down in the Preface the four-fold qualifications which a prospective reviewer of this highly interesting and outstanding specimen of polemical literature in modern Sanskrit must possess before he ventures to undertake the no mean task of properly evaluating the learned author's contribution. "Honest, disinterested, and competent reviewers will have first to study the arguments advanced by (1) Appayya-Dikshita, (2) secondly, Vijayindra-Tirtha's reply to them, (3) thirdly Mr. Narayana-Sastry's criticism of Vijayindra's reply, and (4) finally, my refutation of Mr. Sastry's statements, before they can hope to do anything like justice to my present philosophical endeavour". As I am too keenly aware of the lamentable lack of these unexceptionable noble qualifications on my part, I can only endeavour to tell inquiring souls what the book is about.

It is a refutation of the refutation of the refutation of the refutation of the Dvaita philosophy, or in other words it is a powerful defence of the Dvaita philosophy. This is clear from the title itself: It is "the riddance of the thorns in the path of the Dvaita" (philosophy), and the thorns are the points in the attacks of Appayya Dīkṣita and Pandit Narayana Sastry of the Maharaja's Sanskrit College at Mysore. The former attacked the Dvaita in his *Madhva-tantra-mukha-mardana* in 66 stanzas with his own commentary called the *Madhva-mata-vidhvaṁsana*. This work of

Dīkṣita was refuted by the great Dvaita philosopher Vijayīndratīrtha. Pandit Narayana Sastry in, his gloss on the prose commentary of Dīkṣita tried to refute the arguments of Vijayīndratīrtha, and to vindicate the soundness of Dīksita's refutation of the Dvaita philosophy. And the book under review is a vigorous defence of Vijayīndratīrtha and a shattering and withering attack on Dīksita and Pandit Narayana Sastri. The first part styled the *Prācīnakaṇṭakoddhāra* consists of 66 stanzas in refutation of 66 stanzas of Dīkṣita and employes the same metres used by the latter. The second part called the *Navīnakaṇṭakoddhāra* refutes in detail the charges levelled against Vijayīndra by Mr. Sastry. The verses are elucidated in a prose commentary entitled the *Padārtha-dīpikā.*

The readers even though not of Dvaita persuasion would do well to peruse this book for its incisive and trenchant style and dignified tone of its learned and argumentative prose. It provides yet another striking instance of the fact that Sanskrit is not only not dead but very much alive and kicking.

N. A. Gore

INDIAN MEDICINE by Dr. Jolly, translated from German and supplemented with Notes by C. G. Kashikar, M.A., (Tilak), Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona 2, Foreword by Dr. J. Filliozat, Paris. Appreciation by Prof. P. K. Gode, M.A., published by C. G. Kashikar, 196/27 Sadashiv peth, Poona 2, pp. xx + 240 royal, Price Rs. 15/- Poona, 1951.

Students of India's ancient culture in general and the Āyurvedic science in particular will be thankful to Shri C. G. Kashikar for bringing out an English translation of Dr. J. Jolly's well-known work on Āyurveda, *Medicin* published in the Encyclopaedia of Indo-Aryan Research in 1901. Students of Indology very well know the role played by the above-mentioned encyclopaedic series (*Grundriss*) in the scientific study of all important branches of oriental learning. Many of the books forming part of that series are written in German and other languages. Scholars knowing no other language than English cannot derive advantage from such books. It is, therefore, essential that these books should be translated into English or Indian languages for the benefit of Indian scholars. Shri Kashikar has made the first step in that direction and it is hoped Indian scholars will strive to fulfil the task.

Dr. J. Jolly was a profound Sanskrit scholar having command over varied subjects of Indian learning. His piercing intellect grasped the details of the Ayurvedic science with the same precision as he displayed in solving the legal intricacies of Dharmaśāstra. He was not known to have studied modern Medicine. However, with the aid of modern critical method of study which has reached almost perfection in Germany, he managed to go deep into the Āyurvedic science and brought out such an authoritative text. In a book covering only 124 thickly printed pages (exclusive of indices) in very small type he has collected all the information about the various topics of that science arranged in a subjectwise manner. He has utilized the entire Āyurvedic literature from Caraka Saṁhitā down to Bhāvaprakāśa and has also traced the origin of Āyurveda to Vedic and post-Vedic literature. His work is divided into eight chapters with the following heads: 1. Sources. 2 Physicians and therapy. 3

Theoretical conceptions. 4 Theory of development and gynaecology. 5 Internal diseases and their treatment. 6 External diseases. 7 Diseases of the head. 8 Nervous and mental diseases, toxicology. His treatment of the subject is such that even thorough scholars of Āyurveda will find some new light by reading this book. They will also realize how a philologist looks at the science and literature of Āyurveda. In short the book is indispensable to a research worker and student of Āyurveda.

Prof. Jolly published his work in 1901 and it is a happy coincidence that its translation has been brought out in 1951, its jubilee year. During the half century that has elapsed since the publication of his work, much progress has been made in the study of Āyurvedic literature. Shri Kashikar, therefore, thought it expedient to add Bibliographical Notes which exhaustively record the entries of all important books and papers relating to Ayurveda published during that period. These Notes are a significant contribution which will also help the study of the history of ancient literature in general. The Sanskrit index and the General index are also considerably expanded as a result of the addition of these Notes. The list of abbreviations has also grown larger. Dr. J. Filliozat, a great French scholar of both philology and Medicine, has written a short but significant Foreword to the book, which really forms the essence of what he presented in detail in his important contributions to the knowledge of the history of Indian Medicine as well as the ancient Indian thought. Prof. P. K. Gode, Curator of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona, who has done pioneer work in the chronology of mediaeval Indian literature and history of Indian plants has also written an Appreciation of the book.

Since the attainment of India's Independence much progress has been made in cultivating the study of the Āyurvedic science. The Central Government and various State Governments have been adopting measures to give recognition and patronage to the science; and provision for research work is also being made. The present work is therefore making its appearance at the right moment and it is hoped it will give a new impetus to the research work in both the literary and practical fields. Incidentally it may be suggested that side by side with practical research, attention should be paid towards the preparation of critical editions of important texts as well

as the printing of uupublished texts. Numerous Sanskrit works are lying in manuscript form in the various manuscripts-libraries in India, and it is essential to bring out their critical value which is possible only when they are published.

Medicine is one of those sciences that closely relate to human life. The study of Medicine is a part of the study of culture, because culture is the essence of human life. The present work, therefore, not only helps the study of Medicine, but also that of India's ancient culture. Shri Kashikar, therefore, deserves congratulations not only from students of Indian Medicine, but also from students of Indian culture.

B. V. Gokhale

INDOLOGICAL STUDIES: Part II. by Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., D.Litt.; The Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, 1952. pp. 408

In this second part of his *Indological Studies* Dr. Law declares that there is no consensus of opinion as to the precise connotation of the term Buddhism. This presumably does not apply to the Buddhists themselves, but it may surely be hoped that this volume will bring enlightenment to those who are still engaged in idle disputes, for no less than 13 out of 19 of these interesting chapters deal with various aspects of this religion. These include essays on the chief principles and the monastic regulations, and almost constitute a compendium of Buddhist doctrine, as well as giving details about the social life of the time gathered from the commentators. In Europe Buddhism has been treated too much in isolation. It is known that there were other teachers in Buddha's time who had their own theories of the right way to attain release, and one of them still exists as the doctrine of Mahāvīra, which we know as Jainism. Dr. Law devotes three chapters to it, and from his extensive studies in the Jain scriptures, there is no doubt that he could tell us much more. He here gives us a sketch of Mahāvīra's life, an account of some distinguished men and women in Jainism, and a very clear statement of the Jain doctrine of *karma*. This is one of the doctrines which makes a fundamental contradiction between the two religions. Dr. Law, however, does not enter into the question of the religious or philosophical merits of each system as a valid way of life, but he tells us quite impartially what their own teachers have preached. No doubt further research will be advisable, for we find that the two systems have certain technical terms in common, and the real development of thought will not be clear until we know which came first or whether one borrowed from the other.

An important chapter is devoted to Buddha's life in art. Beginning with Barhut it describes the chief Buddhist monuments, and identifies the events of Buddha's life represented in each. The most detailed description is that of the great stūpa of

Boṛobudur, where there are 120 reliefs representing events related in the *Lalita-vistara.* In speaking of the remains at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa he says that some of thé events of the stories illustrated do not agree in all their details with the known Pali sources. There is no reason why any of them should agree with the Pali, and various south Indian investigators have made curious mistakes owing to their having had no better authority than the translations of Cowell and Rhys Davids from the Pāli.

One chapter is called *Three Buddhist Commentaries.* It is replete with facts and fancies taken from Buddhaghosa's commentaries on Pāli texts, and should be worthy of a super commentary. The long chapter on ancient Indian flora will be a contribution to future Sanskrit dictionaries.

E. J. Thomas

SIDDHA-BHĀRATĪ[1]

The title of this work proclaims it to be an an achievement of Indian scholarship; and those of us from the West who are privileged to contribute our homage to an eminent Indian scholar can only make the same claim as Satyakāma, that we are eager to speak the truth.

But apart from its purpose as the celebration of the birthday of Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, it is a Rosary, a contribution by 108 scholars to the history of Indian culture. It shows something both of what India has achieved, and it also indicates the directions of the pursuits in which investigators and thinkers are now engaged. It also helps to set in their true light the achievements of India's past. What do those pages tell us about that ?

They are not a collection of disconnected essays, for the editor has wisely grouped them according to their respective subjects, beginning with philology. Philology, in the sense of the science of language or *Sprachwissenschaft*, as the Germans more wisely call it, breaks up into a number of separate sciences with languages unrelated to one another, some of them indeed as yet undeciphered. And yet in a sense they are not unrelated,

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[1] *Siddha-Bhāratī, the Rosary of Indology. Edited by Viśva Bandhu. Śāstri. V. V. R. Institute, Hoshiarpur,* 1950, 2 vols. Rs. 60.

for they are or were spoken by people who have lived, side by side for many centuries, so that the question naturally arises, what has been their mutual influence? This requires us to know much more than the languages that they spoke, and Dr. Siddheshwar Varma has pointed out the importance of psychology, physiology, ethnology, and antiquity. All these aspects need to be examined and weighed before the study of the dry bones of language can reveal their full significance. Much detailed knowledge is required, and much must be done before a connected history of the social relations can be pictured.

What we have here is the investigation of a number of details and subjects of apparently minor importance in themselves, but all necessary for building up a sound structure, as well as important for correcting unsound theories.

The next section includes Vedic and Avestic studies. This branch involves some of the most fundamental problems of Indian thought and culture. The earlier investigators began to study the subject without being aware of the difficult questions that would arise, and these are now so far-reaching and yet so incomplete that no exhaustive treatment of them is yet possible. Hence this portion deals with apparently minor problems, but which are parts of the foundations of the resulting structure. It may be said, without making invidious distinctions, that this section shows evidence of some of the most careful thinking that is now being devoted to the great problems.

The literary studies that follow have the quality of being interesting in themselves as dealing with the aesthetic aspect—the artistic achievements as seen in the imperishable works of literature, the creations of Kālidāsa or Vālmīki, and the gems scattered throughout the epics and purāṇas.

The philosophical section is no battlefield of rivals, but rather has the aspect as if one thinker were reaching over and asking how much we have in common with fellow inquirers. What is there in Plato which the Vedāntist can also absorb? How much can Buddhism, (when shorn of Western misinterpretations) find in the Upaniṣads? Why should Vedānta be troubled with Kant's

subjective-objective if it is not there? Besides these inquiries there are articles which discuss religious and philosophical questions that spring purely from the Hindu point of view, and are quite independent of European systems, even though both aim at the same goal.

The following studies in literary history bring forward a very important question, that of chronology. The subject may be divided into two parts, and we may leave aside the portion that deals with the earliest movements of the Aryans in India. For later history we start with what has been called "the sheet anchor of Indian history", and this, we are told (with a mixed metaphor) has now been "uprooted". When the sheet anchor was discovered, it appeared as if all that was necessary was to draw up two parallel lists of dates from the time of Candragupta and Alexander, Greek and Roman on one side with an Indian list beside it, and thus fix all the other dates. The problem was not so simple, if only for the reason that the Indian dates are often anything but certain. Hence we have here a new discussion of the date of Kālidāsa, a dating of the Bhagavadgītā, the age of Pāṇini, identification of the country of the Arthaśāstra, and the testimony of the Pāli chronicles. Another sheet anchor seems to be required.

The same need of chronology extends into the section on General History. There are two discussions on the origin of kingship. They both take the same legend, but one of them puts it in the 5th century A. D. and the other a thousand years earlier. This makes no difference to the discussion of the theory, for it has no more historical basis than the vapourings of Rousseau himself. There is however much food in this section for the seeker after datable facts.

The concluding miscellaneous essays take us from the solid achievements of stone and marble to the Thought and Vision Rays that reach us from the realms of the spirit world.

E. J. Thomas

IDEA OF GOD [The foundations of Religious consciousness] By Dr. K. C. Varadachari M.A., Ph.D., Shri Venkateshvara Oriental Institute Tirupati, 1950, Price Rs. 3/-

The author deserves to be congratulated on his publication of this valuable book on Religion. His knowledge of the different systems of Indian and Western philosophy and of comparitive religion he has brought to bear on the treatment of the various problems discussed in this book. He rightly remarks that the finiteness of man, the omnipotence of nature, man's fear of death and his curiosity to know what becomes of the human soul after bodily death are the main incentives to spiritual life. Belief in some form of God, personal or impersonal, is the essential feature of every religion—ancient and modern. He discusses the various definitions of religion, and his wide knowledge of Anthropology. Religion and Philosophy is evident from the quotations he has given from various eminent authors and their classical works. Freud regards religion as originating in infantile helplessness, while Durkheim considers it to be a very important social institution. According to Plato religion is the culmination of the knowledge of God in the vision of God. Most thinkers would agree with this definition of religion. The author distinguishes the material, divine and truly spiritual aspects of Religion, and finally concludes that it can't be identified with any form of humanism. In the case of the Idea of God also various doctrines have been discussed—the personalistic, impersonalistic, Deistic, Absolutist etc.—and the place of symbolism and analogy in Religion has been rightly determined. Religion and God are sometimes identified with Truth and Duty in certain systems of philosophy. All systems of thought—Eastern and Western—ultimately accept the unity or oneness of God. The author then proceeds to give an account of the idea of God in the Vedas, Upaniṣads and Darśanas. His acquaintance with these systems of thought is abundant and intimate. Particularly his discussion of the philosophical aspect of the idea of God in the Darśanas is very interesting and instructive. The author's discussion of

God as Mother, based on ancient literature of the Vedas, Upaniṣads and of the Śākta and Śaiva systems of Religious Thought, is lucid and even illuminating. He tries to trace the Yoga system of the Vaiṣṇavas to these tendencies of thought in ancient literature and very happily compares it with Shri Aurobindo's idea of Mother, as discussed in his philosophical works. We heartily recommend our readers to read the last two chapters of the book, where the author offers a sympathetic and yet a scientific and critical exposition of the idea of God, as found in the Pañcarātra literature. He accepts the Viśiṣṭādvaita system of Śrī Rāmānuja as the final word in the case of the Idea of God. In the theism of Śrī Rāmānuja the author finds a careful synthesis of immanence and transcendence of God. He rightly points out that according to Śrī Rāmānuja total surrender to God in every respect is the only means of realising God. The book is bound to prove very useful to all earnest students of comparative religion and philosophy.

K. V. Gajendragadkar

BṚHADYOGI-YĀJÑAVALKYASMṚTI : Critically edited by Svāmī Kuvalayānanda and Pandit Raghunāthashāstri Kokaje. Published by the Kaivalyadhāma S. M. Y. M. Samiti, Lonavla, Dist. Poona. 1951. Demy 8⁰. Pages 24 + 249. Price Rs. 10/-

Although Yogiyājñavalkya has long been known to scholars from citations in works on *Dharmaśāstra* and *Nibandhas*, the present editors were the first to undertake the publication of the work. The *Bṛhadyogiyājñavalkyasmṛti* is quite distinct from the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, which deals with *Ācāra*, *Vyavahāra* and *Prāyaś citta* in its three *adhyāyas*. The *Bṛhadyogiyājñavalkyasmṛti*, however, is mainly concerned with *Ācāra*, though it does not touch *Saṁskāra* and *Varṇāśramadharma*, but deals with *Snāna*, *tarpaṇa*, *pūjā*, etc. constituting *āhnika*, and *prāṇāyāma* and *dhyāna* which pertain to yoga : *Prāyaścitta* gets but incidental mention and there is no reference to *vyavahāra*. It has 12 *adhyāyas* and 928 stanzas. According to the editors, it is difficult to decide whether the authors of the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* and *Bṛhadyogiyājñavalkyasmṛti* are identical or different as there is evidence in support of both the hypotheses. It is also shown that the *Bṛhadyogiyājñavalkyasmṛti* presents quite a different tradition from that of Patañjali and Haṭhayoga.

The text is based on two MSS designated आ (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute) and इ (British Museum). Rao Bahadur P. C. Diwanji has shown that there are at least a couple of more MSS. of the work, one in the India Office and the other in Bengal. The reviewer understands that there is also one MS. in the Jaipur Pothikhana, which is a Dharma Supari leaf MS. in Bengali characters and bears year 419 of Lakṣmaṇasena (i. e. 1537-38 A. D.). One feels that a thorough and searching enquiry should have been made about all MSS. and attempts made to secure them before undertaking the critical edition.

The Editors have not invited attention to the important features of MS इ. It would appear that its colophons conform more to the text than those in MS आ. At the end of some *adhyāyas* as marked in the text, which mainly follows MS. आ, are mentioned the numbers of stanzas constituting a particular *adhyāya*, and it is found that MS. इ ends its *adhyāyas* at precisely these points;

e, g. at the end of द्वितीयोऽध्याय: (according to MS आ) the number of stanzas is given as 200, while MS इ ends its first *adhyāya* there ; the second and third *adhyāyas* in MS इ conclude at the point where the number of stanzas is stated, and the adhyāyas are marked third and fourth in MS आ ; then MS इ continues its next (i. e. fourth) *adhyāya* apparently till the end of the eighth *adhyāya* of MS. आ, where we find something in the nature of *adhyāya*-ending in MS. इ., and where exactly occurs the number of stanzas indicating that the text also intended to end its *adhyāya* there. Another close similarity between the text and the colophon of MS इ is found in styling the *adhyāya* as *prakaraṇa* : cf. the colophon of MS इ calls it ध्यानप्रकरण (p. 118) as said in the text (IX. 198).

From the citations from this work, it appears that it has been indiscriminately referred to as याज्ञवल्क्यवचन, वृद्धयाज्ञवल्क्यवचन, योगिवचन, योगियाज्ञवल्क्य, योगीश्वरवचन, योगिसंहितावचन, etc. The quotations from the *Ācāraratnam* and *Vaidyanāthīyam* as given in Appendix I, which includes citations from *Yogiyājñavalkya* not found in the present work, indicate that the *Bṛhadyogiyājñavalkya-smṛti* contained prose passages also ; the printed text, however, is only metrical. It is also curious that the passages already cited by Mm. Dr. Kane as from *Yogiyājñavalkya*, one of which suggests that *Vyavahāra* formed part of the *Bṛhadyogiyājñavalkyasmṛti*, are not found in the text or even in this Appendix. Rao Bahadur Diwanji controverts the claim of the editors that the present work represents the Yogaśāstra by Yājñavalkya referred to in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (III. 10).

The discovery of further MSS of the work, a careful and critical collation of the text and a comparative study of *Yogiyājñavalkya*, *Bṛhadyogiyājñavalkya* and other similar work will throw light on most of the points raised in this review.

There are three useful appendices, dealing respectively with (i) alphabetical list of citations from *Yogiyājñavalkya* in different nibandha works not found in the present text, (ii) notes on some stanzas in the text, and (iii) twelve exhaustive indices. The editors deserve cordial thanks for this nice production. The printing and get-up are good, and considering the enormous rise in the cost of printing and paper, the price is reasonable.

A. D. Pusalker

CIMANĪ-CARITAM OF NĪLAKAṆṬHA: Critically edited by Principal N. A. Gore. Published by Swadhyaya Mandal, P. O. Pardi, Distt. Surat. 1950 (Reprinted from Journal of Oriental Studies, Vol. I, No. 1).

Professor Gode's illuminating papers on *Cimanī-carita* (*ABORI*, IX, pp. 331-2; *P.O.* VI, pp. 149-158) and his inspiring contact prompted Prof. Gore to undertake the critical edition of the work and he has acquitted himself creditably. Based on four MSS, which are the only known MSS of the work to be extant so far, the text runs to 106 stanzas in nine different metres with Mandākrāntā predominating, and describes the amours of the daughter-in-law of a Muslim nobleman and a young Brahmin teacher of ladies in the harem. The author Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla is known to have written two books.

In the introduction Prof. Gore gives the critical apparatus, the story, appreciation, metrical analysis, date of the poem, and particulars about the author and his works - all well executed. There is an index of stanzas at the end.

The present work fully justifies our expectations from Prof. Gore and we look forward to many similar publications from him.

A. D. Pusalker

SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA By Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. Published by the Adyar Library, 1950, Demy 8°, Pages x + 111, Price Rs. 2/8

The present work represents two lectures which Dr. Raja delivered as Dewan Bahadur K. Krishnaswami Rao Endowment Lectures in the University of Madras. Dr. Raja's close and critical study of all branches of Indology is well known, and he holds original views on several subjects. He has already published various articles and addresses on ancient Indian education.

In these lectures Dr. Raja has treated the subject in a historical way. He has shown that references to Brahmacārin do not uniformly and necessarily relate to the student after

upanayana. He has further distinguished between *upanayana* and *upasadana*, the former being "the ceremony of a student being initiated to the Vedic study under the teacher," and the latter "is a voluntary approach to a great teacher by an advanced student for further study" no special ceremony being prescribed.

Dr. Raja has shown that ancient Indian education was obligatory and universal. The primary purpose of education was to develop a very healthy civic life in the country. There were four stages in the education of a boy, viz. elementary education, prior to the upanayana, at home; obligatory *svādhyāyādhyayana* in the household of the teacher, before ceremonial bath; optional study of a higher and critical nature after ceremonial bath continued at the teacher's household; and the highly specialised education after *upasadana*, described above. The highest stage in education was represented by meetings of academies and conferences where scholars assembled and discussed various problems.

The book is nicely got-up, and will amply repay persual.

A. D. Pusalker

SMṚTICANDRIKĀ, VYAVAHĀRA KĀṆḌA — Part II, An English translation with notes etc. by J. R. Gharpure, Published by V. J. Gharpure, Bombay. 1950. Pages 4 + V + 251-504 + iv

This is the second part of the English translation with notes of the *Smṛticandrikā* by Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa. Out of the eighteen titles of law, the present part of the Vyavahāra Kāṇḍa covers those from the Law of Debts to the Prakīrṇaka. Notes, which are given at the bottom of the relevant pages, trace the quotations in the text to their sources, and explain and annotate important words, sentences or passages and refer to different views about their meanings. There is a General Index of the Authors etc. at the end arranged according to Sanskrit alphabets.

Like its predecessors this volume also will be found useful by those interested in the study of Hindu Law, and Principal Gharpure deserves congratulations for continuing his labours with unabated zeal.

A. D. Pusalker

भक्त शिरोमणि नामदेव की नई जीवनी, नई पदावली (Edited by Dr. Mohan Singh and published by M/s. Attarchand Kapur & Sons, Delhi, 1949, pp. 6 + 77 + 3).

Dr. Mohan Singh of the Khalsa College of Amritsar has brought together in this volume a biography in verse of Bhakta Nāmadeva composed by an unknown writer in 1696 and a collection of unpublished poems believed to be composed by Nāmadeva himself. In Marathi we have *abhaṅgas* and songs numbering more than 2000 which are also traditionally attributed to Nāmadeva. However, they are now generally accepted as being composed by different poets who had adopted identical or similar names. It is by no means an easy task to separate the work of these different individuals. There are interpolated passages in the works of Tukārāma also. But he was a poet of a later date and manuscripts of his works have been preserved by his descendants and persons claiming to belong to his spiritual lineage. It is, therefore, a comparatively simpler task to separate the gold from the dross. I have not yet come across a single manuscript which contains the bulk of Nāmadeva's work. Poetry attributed to Nāmadeva is found scattered in manuscripts which contain works of a number of other poets as well. Those who have brought out printed editions of the complete works of Nāmadeva have selected the relevant portions from different manuscripts and such editions really represent anthologies of works of different writers all calling themselves Nāmadeva. The edition brought out by Mādhava Chandrobā near about 1864, which was the pioneer attempt in this direction contains only 208 *abhaṅgas.* Later such collections were also published by Gondhalekar, Tukaram Tatya, Avate Joag, (Chitrashala) and others, and at present the *abhaṅgas* and songs attributed to Nāmadeva total about 2,500. It is doubtful whether even a thousand of these can be attributed to the first Nāmadeva.

There are also poems in Hindustani which are traditionally attributed to Nāmā or Nāmadeva. Tukaram Tatya and Joag have included these in their collections of Nāmadeva's works. The

Grantha Saheb of the Sikhs contains 61 songs which are attributed to Nāmadeva. While in Maharashtra it is traditionally believed that Nāmadeva was a contemporary of Jñāneśvara and belonged to the 13th century, certain scholars have utilised allusions in Nāmadeva's songs in the Grantha Saheb as evidence to establish that he really belonged to a later date. In a poem in the Grantha Saheb, Nāmadeva is said to have resurrected a cow which was killed by the Sultan. Dr. Mohan Singh is inclined to believe that the Sultan who figures in this episode was Pheroze Shah Sultan of the Bahmani Dynasty in the Deccan who died in 1422. This would imply that the accepted date of Nāmadeva needs revision so as to bring it nearer to us by a century. Elsewhere I have advanced the view that the songs in Grantha Saheb which are attributed to Nāmadeva were not all composed by the same person. It is not impossible that some might have been composed by the first Nāmadeva himself; but many were probably the work of disciples who adopted his name. The practice of adopting the name or title of the Guru by the entire lineage of his disciples is not unknown in India. The spiritual lineage of Śaṁkarācāryas is well known. Twelve disciples in the spiritual lineage of Kabir were also known to be Kabir. In the spiritual lineage of Guru Nānak himself, with the exception of Guru Govind, the last disciple, all the other eight disciples called themselves Nānak. Muhsin Fani, who was a personal friend of the sixth Sikh Guru Har Govind writes as follows in his book Dabistan :—

"The Sikhs say that Nānak, in the same manner, had been without a real body, but visible by the power of his individuality and they believe that, when Nānak expired, his spirit became incarnate in the person of Angad, who attended him as his confidential servant. Angad, at his death, transmitted his soul into the body of Amardas, and this Guru, in the same manner, conveyed his spirit into the body of Rāmdās; whose soul transmigrated into the person of Arjunmal; in short they believe that, with a mere change in name Nānak the First became Nānak the Second, and so on, to the Fifth in the person of Arjunmal. They say that whoever does not recognise in Arjunmal the true Baba Nānak, is an unbeliever". (Vol. II, p. 253-254). He further writes:—"The Guru Har Govind, in a letter to the

author of this work, gave himself the title of Nanak, which was his right distinction." (Vol. II, p. 281).

There is thus reason to believe that the Sikh tradition attributes the compositions of different Nāmadevas as well as the miracles said to have been worked by them to the first Nāmadeva. Once this approach is adopted, the case for revising the date of Nāmadeva on the basis of internal evidence in the songs of the Grantha Saheb, loses its strength. There is large scope for sustained research on the life and work of Nāmadeva. Such research will remain incomplete so long as the material available in North Indian languages and traditions is not fully explored. I have no doubt that students in this field will make full use of Dr. Mohan Singh's labours and be grateful to him for the material which he has made available.

A. K. Priolkar

THE HORSE-SACRIFICE IN THE TAITTIRĪYA BRĀHMAṆA : (The eighth and Ninth Prapāṭhakas of the third Kāṇḍa of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa with translation) by Paul-Emile Dumont, Professor of Sanskrit and Indology, Johns Hopkins University, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1948, Vol. 92, No. 6, pp. 447-503.

The Brāhmaṇas form a prominent part of the whole of the Vedic literature. They serve as the first and the oldest commentary on the Vedic Saṁhitās, explain the sacrificial rites to be performed while reciting the Vedic mantras and glorify the various sacrificial acts. The sacrifice was the most important religious and cultural institution of the Vedic Aryans and was the chief vehicle of co-ordination of the Vedic Society. Hence it is quite natural that the study of the Brāhmaṇas should be very essential for understanding Vedic civilization and culture, howsoever dry and difficult they may be for an ordinary reader.

In spite of this significance the Brāhmaṇa literature has not so far been subjected to a thorough and comprehensive study. A complete translation of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, one of the important works of that class, is not available so far. As an attempt in that direction, Prof. P.-E. Dumont has published a translation of Prapāṭhakas 8 and 9 of the third Kāṇḍa, that is, the Brāhmaṇa of the Aśvamedha. As the translator has rightly said, there is no " disadvantage in publishing the translation of these chapters before that of the preceding parts of the work, for it is evident that the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa is a mere agglomeration of material, a composite work, whose different parts have been gathered and put one after the other without any logical order ". At the same time it has to be remembered that the present work, even though it forms the bulk of the Brāhmaṇa of the horse-sacrifice, is not a comprehensive presentation of the same. It does not deal with the mantras to be employed herein which lay scattered in the 4th, 5th and the 7th Kāṇḍa of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā and also in some anuvākas of the Taittirīya

Āraṇyaka. Nor can it be said that TBr. 3. 8-9 forms the exhaustive Brāhmaṇa of the Aśvamedha. The Taittirīya Saṁhitā contains some Brāhmaṇa portions (See TS. 5. 5. 11–24, 5. 6. 11–23, 5. 3. 12, 5. 4. 12, 7. 5. 14–15, 21–22, 25)[1]. However, the presentation of the Aśvamedha ritual as contained in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa may be considered as complete by the translation of the Saṁhitā portion in Keith's translation of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā, the discussion of the Yajus in *Die Yajus des Aśvamedha* by Dr. S. S. Bhawe and the present translation of the Brāhmaṇa portion.

The work begins with a list of contents of the Anuvākas in both the Prapāṭhakas. After a short Preface, the procedure of the sacrifice according to the Āpastamba śrautasūtra is given in short. The original text of each anuvāka is then given in Roman characters which is followed by the translation. The translation is as literal as possible but, in order to make it more intelligible, the author has put in parentheses not only the words that must be considered as understood in the text, but also short explanations. He has also added a few remarks that are necessary for the proper understanding of the rites with the help of the Āpastamba and Baudhāyana śrautasūtras. The translation is also furnished with occasional philological notes and the author has also suggested a few corrections in the text. A table showing parallel passages of the Tattirīya Brāhmaṇa and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is given at the end. On the whole, the work has been executed in a scientific manner and students of Vedic literature and ritual are grateful to the author for this brilliant piece of work. To translate a Brāhmaṇa requires thorough knowledge of the sacrificial rites explained therein and the author has ably succeeded in his work, which is not an easy matter for people outside the fold of Indian culture.

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[1] TS. 5. 5. 11–24 and 6. 6. 11. 23 are Brāhmaṇa portions, not the mantra as shown in the Table in Keith's translation, Intro. pp. lix–lx. They are not used as mantras in Aśvameda. They speak about the victims. Sāyaṇa refers to a Brāhmaṇa quotation by saying *vidhatte* or *vidhīyate*. At the beginning of the comm. on TS. 5. 5. 11 he says...*aśvamedhaśeṣabhūtā ekādaśinaḥ paśavo vidhīyante...ekādaśinī. Sa caikaikasminnanuvāka ekaika vidhīyate*. The Table in the Aundh edition of the TS. (Intro. p. 83) shows these parts as Brāhmaṇa. Similarly TS. 7. 5. 14 is Brāhmaṇa, not mantra. (cf. Keith ibid. p. lxvi).

The author believes that there is a lacuna in TBr. 3. 8. 28 (p. 475) after *śitipṛṣṭhau bārhaspatyau pṛṣṭhe, brahmavarcasam evo 'pariṣṭād dhatte* and he supplies it by conjecture as *sauryayāmau śvetam (ca) kṛṣṇam ca pārśvayoḥ*. This is based on statement in Āp. 20. 13. 12 and ŚB. 13. 2. 2. 7. The two additional victims consecrated to Yama and Sūrya as denoted in the conjecture are not mentioned in the Baudhāyana śrautasūtra (15. 26). The author evidently seems to have attached more importance to Āpastamba than to Baudhāyana which is a point to be questioned. Of all the extant Śrautasūtras not only of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā but belonging to all the Saṁhitās, Baudhāyana śrautasūtra is undoubtedly the oldest. So, while dealing with any point of ritual in the Taittirīya school, it is scientifically correct to refer first to Baudhāyana and then to other authors. Next to Baudhāyana comes Bhāradvāja whose Śrautasūtra is now available in part. Āpastamba comes only next to Bhāradvāja. This chronological order has been adopted also in the *Śrautakośa*, an encyclopaedic work on the Vedic Śrauta ritual at present being compiled by the Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala of Poona. Śatapatha Br. mentions the two victims for Sūrya and Yama, but it does not follow that that statement must be contained in TBr. because it exists in ŚBr. There are frequent differences between these two Brāhmaṇas. There is also difference between them as regards the names and order of the paryangya animals[1] and also the parts of the horse to which they are bound. Āpastamba is always in the habit of quoting and incorporating the details of ritual in the ŚBr. and he appears to have done the same also here. It is further argued that the conjectural reading renders the subsequent statement *atho kavace evai 'te abhitaḥ paryūhate, tasmād rājanyaḥ sa nnaddho vīryam karoti* "more appropriate." This is also not convincing. The

[1] Baudh. begins the *paryaṅgya* animals with the following sūtra: *āgnendram (āgneyam ?) kṛṣṇalalāmamaindrāpauṣṇam pauṣṇamity* 'tāns' trīn lalāṭe. This accords well with the TBr. passage *āgneyam kṛṣṇagrīvam purastāllalāṭe ... pauṣṇam anvañcam ... aindrāpauṣṇam upariṣṭāt*. Sāyaṇa's explanation *upariṣṭat ūrdhvam* is not fitting. *Upariṣṭāt* should mean "later". The relevant Āp. sūtra is *āgneyam kṛṣṇagrīvam purastāllalāṭe, pauṣṇam añvañcam, aindrāpauṣṇam' upariṣṭān grī (? d ' gri) vāsu*. Here the addition of the word *grīvāsu* seems uncalled.

word *abhitaḥ* means "before and after." Sāyaṇa explains it by *purastāt paścācca.* So the positions denoted by the words *pārśvayoḥ* ("on both sides") in the conjectured sentence and *abhitaḥ* in the subsequent sentence are quite opposite. The conjecture is, therefore, not appropriate. There is no *abhitaḥ* in the ŚBr. passage. The original statement in the Brāhmaṇa can be considered as proper if we suppose (we have to suppose something, because the animals tied to the back cannot stand on the back but must do so somewhere else) that the two animals to be tied to the horse's back are made to stand "before and after" the horse. Even the *arthavāda* can be said to imply that.

The most positive proof, however, is the word *atho* in *atho kavace evaite abhitaḥ paryūhate* etc. This word does not exist in the ŚBr passage. Sāyaṇa explains *atho* by *api ca.* The translator has also rendered it by "and". If the conjecture is granted, the word *atho* would be superfluous. The Brāhmaṇa intends to give the twofold arthavāda, one based on the adjective *śitipṛṣṭhau* and the other based on the positions of the animals to be tied to the horse's back and *atho* is meant to conjoin these two parts. A similar construction is found in the very next passage in the Brāhmaṇa : *dhātre pṛṣodaram 'adhastāt. Pratiṣṭhāmevaitām kurute. Atho iyam vai dhātā asyām 'eva pratitiṣṭhati.* There are, therefore, not adequate grounds to suppose a lacuna in TBr 3. 8. 28.

The translator has suggested a few more improvements also. His conjectures of *prāṇān dīkṣām* for *prāṇām dīkṣām* (TBr 3. 8. 10) and *ya evam veda* for *sa evam veda* (TBr 3. 9. 21) are sound. He suggests *audanyavo bhrūṇahatyāyai* in place of *audanyavaḥ bhrūṇahatyāyai* (TBr 3. 9. 15) and *ādityebhyo 'mum* in place of *ādityebhyaḥ. amum* (TBr 3. 9. 21). This is not necessary, because the style of the Brāhmaṇas is to divide one sentence into two or more parts. Sāyaṇa explains such sentences by bringing together their component parts separated by the mark of *daṇḍa.* Even the poetic mantras in the Brāhmaṇas are divided into separate pādas and are recited as such. The translator has made a bold suggestion in the text of TBr 3. 9. 21 which reads *yat prajāpatir 'ālabdho 'śvo 'bhavat. Tasmād 'aśvo nāma. Yacchvayad 'arur 'āsīt. Tasmād 'arvā nāma.* The conjectured reading is *yat prajāpati ... bhāvat. Tasmād*

aśvo nāma yacchvayat (yad 'aśvayat). Yad 'arur 'āsīt tasmād 'arvā nāma. This is not acceptable in view of Sāyaṇa's commentary thereon : *Prajāpatiḥ svayam 'eva kadācid 'asvajātir bhūtvā devair ālabdhaḥ sann 'aśvo vyāpako 'bhavat. Yad yasmād 'evam tasmād 'aśnute vyāpnotī 'ti vyutpattyā 'śvanāma sampannam. Prajāpater akṣi kenāpi rogeṇa śvayad 'ucchūnam yadā 'bhūt tadānīm 'arur vyathāhetur 'āsīt. Yasmād 'arus tasmād 'arve 'ti nāma.* It is thus clear that the name *aśva* is derived from the root *aś* in the word *aśva* itself and has nothing to do with *śvayat* which is really connected with *aruḥ*. Moreover the style of the Brāhmaṇas is such that the words denoting cause and effect e. g. *yat* and *tat*, *yasmāt* and *tasmāt* never form part of one sentence.

At the end of the Soma sacrifice of the third day of pressing, the purificatory bath takes place and on this occasion the Adhvaryu offers three oblations of clarified butter, the first to *Mṛtyu*, the second to *Bhrūṇahatyā* and the third to *Jumbaka*. The meaning of Jumbaka is not clear. TBr 3. 9. 15 says that Jumbaka is Varuṇa. Dr. S. S. Bhawe consideres Jumbaka as some evil spirit[1] a non-vedic element incorporated in the Yajurveda.

The work has happily roused expectations in the mind of the reader about a complete translation of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa and it is hoped the author will fulfil his self-imposed task. Very recently he has brought out the translation of TBr III 10-12 dealing with the special kinds of Agnicayana according to the Kaṭhas. (Proc. American Philosophical Society, Vol. 95 No. 6, December 1951, pp. 628-75). It is really gratifying to note that in spite of the circumstances created by the last world war, the attention of western scholars towards the study of Indian religion and culture is not diverted and it is hoped it will be attracted more and more in the interest of the subject.

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[1] *Jumbaka in the Horse-sacrifice ritual of the Yajurveda*, XI AIOC, 1941. This paper is not available, since the Proceedings of the XIth session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Hyderabad (Deccan) were not printed. A reference to it is found in the *Vedic Bibliography* edited by Dr. R. N. Dandekar.

THE SPECIAL KINDS OF AGNICAYANA (or Special methods of building the fire-altar) according to the Kaṭhas in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (TBr 3.10-12), Text and translation by Prof. Paul-Emile Dumont, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 95 No. 6, December 1951, pp. 628-75

The plan adopted in presenting the text and translation of Kāṭhaka Agnicayana is the same as that of the Horse-sacrifice. The text given herein is taken from the Ānandāśrama edition of TBr. In a few instances the author has corrected an evident misprint or has ventured a conjecture. He has, as done previously, given particular attention to accentuation and has suggested many an improvement. The Ānandāśrama edition is not the only edition of TBr. The text with Sāyaṇa's commentary was already published in three volumes in Bibliotheca Indica. The author seems to have meant this edition when he referred to "two editions" in a note on p. 672. Another good edition of the text with the commentary of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra (= Bh) has been edited by A. Mahadeva Śastri and L. Śrinivasacharya and published in Mysore Government Oriental Library Series. Many of the mistakes in the Ānandāśrama edition pointed out by Prof. Dumont are not found in the Mysore edition which he does not seem to have used. In TBr 3.10.1.4 Prof. Dumont has suggested *jávaḥ* for *javaḥ*. Mysore edition gives *javáḥ* which seems to be correct. As in the case of the Horse-sacrifice, Prof. Dumont has given more importance to Āpastamba than to Baudhāyana.

Prof. Dumont has made a commendable effort in explaining many obscure words and sentences in the text of Kāṭhaka Cayana. Sometimes Sāyaṇa is too short in his explanations. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara Miśra flourished earlier than Sāyaṇa. In spite of the later and comprehensive commentary of Sāyaṇa, Bhaṭṭa

Bhāskara Miśra's commentary retains its value on account of its different line of interpretation and also grammatical explanations. It would, therefore, be advantageous to refer to Bh for arriving at a better understanding of the text.

In TBr 3. 10. 8. 3. Prof. Dumont conjectures *ahasto 'stā* in place of *ahastostvā* which does not seem essential in the light of Bh's commentary. Bh reads *ahasto 'stvā* and explains: *astvā asmakuśalaḥ puruṣaḥ. Asyateḥ chāndase vanipi tasāgamaḥ.* This is quite suitable. Incidentally, while dealing with the mantras in TBr 3. 10. 8 Dumont has suggested a conjecture in the text of Āp. Śr. 19. 13. 24 which reads *prāṇanihavān ātman pratiṣṭhāpayate.* His conjecture is: *prāṇān prāṇanihavenā ''tman pratiṣṭhāpayate.* I think that the reading *prāṇanivahān ātman pratiṣṭhāpayate* as given in Hiraṇyakeśi Śr. would be all right. The word *nivaha* means "multitude, quantity" which suits the formulas. Both Sāyaṇa and Bh while referring to the rubrication of the formulas quote *prāṇanivahān.* I, therefore, believe that *prāṇanihavān* in Garbe's text of Āpastamba may be a misprint for *prāṇanivahān.* Dumont questions the statement in TBr 3. 10. 9. 6 that one should not converse about the Sāvitra fire with a man who knows it. There is really no objection to conversation as such, but, according to both the commentators, one should not converse jealously (*mātsaryeṇa*). In TBr 3. 10. 9. 14 Ānandāśrama edition reads *yas tam na veda* which is, curiously enough, also the reading adopted by Sāyaṇa. Mysore edition and also Bh read *yas tan na veda.*

In TBr all mantras and formulas are divided into certain parts and the tradition is everywhere the same. Dumont has tried at some places (see TBr. 3. 11. 1, 12. 1, 9) to rearrange these parts on a rational basis. It is reasonable to do so from the exegetical point of view, but after all the tradition has got its own value. Dumont has rendered the word *uttarasattvānaḥ* (TBr. 3. 11. 2. 4) by "having a higher existence". Bh who gives a typical explanation of the entire passage, however, explains the word as *uttarais samānaprādhānyāḥ,* just as he explains *uttaravartmānaḥ,* as *uttarais samānavartmānaḥ.* The entire explanation

given by Bh is ingenious.[1] *Uśant* (TBr. 3. 11. 8. 1), according to Dumont and others, is a proper noun. 'It may be pointed out that Bh has already rendered it as such (*uśan nāma vājaśravaso 'patyam*). Dumont has written an interesting note on the word *adau* (TBr 3. 10. 3. 1) in which he suggests that "the primitive form of the nominative-accusative neuter was not *adas* but *ado*" and that the original *u* element in the word is contained in the word *adau* under its strengthened vṛddhi-form.

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[1] On the strength of accentuation he says that the first, second and third gods are principal and the rest are subordinate. The first three gods are requested to become fourth (gods) etc. and lean upon the fifth (gods) etc. The meaning of the *uttara* gods will be clear from the following extract of the commentary :—

Atha he uttare devāḥ...sarve uttaravartmānaḥ uttarais samānavartmānaḥ, uttarasattvānaḥ uttarais samānaprādhānyāś ca bhavata. Uttarottaragaṇair ekībhūtā ityarthaḥ. Tatrā 'yam gaṇānām kramaḥ :—

eko devas tribhir ekādaśabhir guṇitas trayastriṁśat devāḥ, evam tribhir guṇitā ekonaśatam. Tad idam uktam "trir ekādaśās tris trayastriṁśā iti. Punar apyekonaśatasaṁkhyā devās tribhir ekādaśabhir guṇitā uttare ity ucyante. Te ca saptaṣaṣṭyadhikaśatadvayasahitāni trīṇi sahasrāṇi (3267). Atha prathamasyā 'vāntaragaṇasyā 'dhipatayas trayastriṁśat, uttarasya ca trayastriṁśat, atha prathamasya pradhānagaṇasya trayaḥ, uttarasya ca trayaḥ, evam sarve saṁkhyāya ekonacatvāriṁśadadhikaśatatrayasahitāni trīṇi sahasrāṇi (3339) devā bhavanti.

CASTE IN INDIA, by J. H. Hutton. Oxford University Press : Second revised edition : 1951. pp. X+315 with two maps.

The author of this book, Prof. Hutton, had been a member of of the I. C. S. and was mainly responsible for the census of India held in 1931. Besides a very useful report on that census, which was published in 1933, Mr. Hutton has also published two very informative monographs on the Angami Nagas and the Sema Nagas. Since his retirement from the I. C. S., in 1936, Mr. Hutton had been working, till recently, as Professor of Social Anthropology in the University of Cambridge. It was, therefore, but to be expected that, with this background, Professor Hutton should have covered in the present book, which, incidentally, was first published in 1946, the entire problem of the Indian caste system in an expert manner. The book is divided into three parts. The first part, entitled 'Background', deals with the caste system as it actually operates in various parts of India, and evinces the author's great factual knowledge. The author has clearly brought out the contrast between the complexity of the actual situation and the traditional formalist scheme set forth in a work like the *Manusmṛti*. The second part deals with the structure, strictures, sanctions, and functions of caste. Instead of trying to define caste, which is indeed a very difficult task, Professor Hutton enumerates its main features, such as the following : Birth determines a man's caste for life unless he be expelled for violation of its rules ; transition from one caste to another is not possible ; caste is an endogamous group so that its members cannot marry outside it ; within some castes there are smaller exogamous groups, the members of which must marry outside these groups ; there are similar restrictions on eating and drinking with a member of another caste ; there are fixed occupations for many castes ; and there is some hierarchical gradation of castes, the best recognized position being that of the Brāhmaṇas at the top. This description may be said to be normally applicable to India as a whole. In the course of his discussion on this topic, the author has made some suggestive observations on the intriguing question of *gotra* and *pravara*. He has also rightly pointed out that the old term *varṇa* cannot possibly be interpreted to mean

'caste'. Really speaking caste system is not *varṇa-vyavasthā*; it is *jāti-vyavasthā*. He has further stressed the point that there is often a wide gulf between the traditional theories and the actual practices relating to intercaste marriage. Professor Hutton's vast experience as a census officer has stood him in good stead while dealing with the actual working of the caste-councils or the *panchayats*. In the section dealing with the functions of caste, the author has made quite a judicious evaluation of the caste system, drawing attention to its advantages and disadvantages. The caste system in India has often been made the main target of attack by social reformers. There can be no two opinions about the desirability and urgency of abolishing the caste system. But any effort in that direction must be based on a proper realisation of the source of the vitality of that system, which has kept it alive - indeed, very much alive - inspite of several revolts against it through the ages.

The third part of the book deals with the origins of caste. Here, Professor Hutton has subjected to a critical examination the various earlier theories relating to the origin and the growth of the caste system— theories, for instance, like those which have been put forth by Senart, Oldenberg, Nesfield, Risley, Linton, Roy, Datta, Ghurye, and Chanda. He has rightly pointed out that so highly complex a social phenomenon as caste must necessarily have had a multiple origin. It is certainly not possible to accept the exclusively racial or occupational origin of caste. According to Hutton, the motif of taboo on food and drink was perhaps the keystone of the whole caste system. It is a fact that the significant rôle played in the genesis of caste by the complex of beliefs in mana, taboo, and magic, which surrounds the primitive philosophy of soul-stuff or life-matter, has not been adequately appreciated. In this connection a reference may be made to the very illuminating theory advanced by Hocart (*Caste: A comparative study* by A. M. Hocart. Methuen and Co., London, 1950.) that caste system has had a magic-ritual origin. Besides belief in mana, taboo etc., Hutton enumarates several other factors which have contributed to the emergence and development of caste system, such as geographical isolation of the Indian peninsula, clash of races and fusion of cultures, deliberate economic and administrative policies, trade

guilds and trade secrets, magic associated with crafts and functions, etc. Institutions analogous to caste do exist in other countries. But, as the author rightly concludes, the caste system in India must be regarded as unique in the world ; for, it is indeed difficult to imagine that all the factors mentioned above could have together operated in any other region.

Prof. Hutton's book has two interesting appendices - one on the position of the exterior castes and the other on Hinduism in its relation to primitive religions in India. By way of criticism, it is possible to point to the lack of proportion and absence of clarity in some portions of Professor Hutton's book. These were perhaps inevitable where so much material had to be compressed within a single volume. Those, who, like the present reviewer, have had an opportunity of comparing the two editions of the book, will be glad to see that Professor Hutton has duly corrected, in the second edition, some errors which had crept in the first edition. It is further heartening to see that the author has scrupulously avoided enunciating any new-fangled theories in connection with caste. His entire approach to the subject has been quite objective and realistic.

R. N. D.

ABHIJÑĀNA-ŚĀKUNTALA OF KĀLIDĀSA, edited by R. D. Karmarkar : pub. Aryabhushana Press, Poona 1952 ; pp. lxvii + 404.

Professor Karmarkar has already earned a well-deserved reputation as a producer of standard editions of Sanskrit classical works. In a sense, he and his *alter ego*, the late Professor A. B Gajendragadkar, may be said to have started quite a new vogue in this field. The fact that several later editors of classical Sanskrit texts have imitated the pattern of editing evolved by these two scholars constitutes in itself an eloquent tribute to their ingenuity and to the correct realization on their part of the real needs of Sanskrit students at the Universities. Like his other editions, Professor Karmarkar's present edition of the *Śākuntala* is characterized by the usual features, such as, a carefully edited text, a complete English

translation printed below the text, critical and explanatory notes, an introduction dealing with all the important points connected with the play, and other general information required for the proper appreciation of it. But, in certain respects, it clearly shows a laudable advance over them. For one thing, his introduction to the *Śākuntala* is much more detailed and exhaustive. He has approached the play— and, indeed, very rightly— mainly as a piece of dramatic art. And, by means of a critical analysis of it, act by act, he has laid bare its many dramatic excellences. Professor Karmarkar knows that the function of a true critic, like that of any other artist, is only *to suggest*. His remarks on some of the main episodes in the play are quite noteworthy from this point of view. His forthright criticism of Keith's and Tagore's criticism of Kālidāsa, though not vindicable in its entirety, does present a point of view which deserves to be examined in detail.

But what is perhaps particularly significant in this edition is that Professor Karmarkar has tried to evaluate Kālidāsa's dramatic art, as a whole, by undertaking, wherever posible, a comparative study of all the three plays of the poet. He further has some interesting suggestions to make, among other things, about the structure of the play (as, for instance, when he poses the question : Was the *Śākuntala* originally intended to be a five-act play ?) as also about the interpretation of certain stanzas (as, for instance, when he proposes to read *sā mānyapratipattipūrvakam* instead of the usual *sāmānyapratipattipūrvakam* in iv. 17). Now that his critical editions of all the three plays of Kālidāsa have been published, would it be too much to expect from the Professor an independent monograph on " Kālidāsa, the Dramatist " ? In the present edition he may be said to have compared Kālidāsa with Kālidāsa ; in that monograph he might make a study of Kālidāsa with reference to other classical dramatists in India and elsewhere.

R. N. D.

MAHABHARATA, by C. Rajagopalachari, pp. xvi+420, 1952.
GANDHI'S VIEW OF LIFE, by Chandrashankar Shukla, pp. xxii + 245, 1951: both books published in Bhavan's Book University, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

Since its foundation some years ago the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan of Bombay has been rendering, through its various constituent institutions, invaluable service to the cause of Indian art, learning, and culture, in general, and of Sanskritic studies and Indological research, in particular. The Bhavan's ambitious scheme of the "History and Culture of the Indian People", which is expected to comprise ten volumes—two volumes out of which have been published during the course of the last two years—has worthily commended itself to the critical attention of scholars in India and outside. Another scheme recently undertaken by the Bhavan is perhaps more ambitious, though less scholarly. In March 1951, the President of the Bhavan, Shri K. M. Munshi, organised what he has very aptly called the Book University of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. In the words of Shri Munshi, who, with Shri N. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, Judge of the Supreme Court of India, is also the General Editor of the Book University, the object of this scheme which, incidentally, would involve the publication of 900 volumes, is to produce books in a uniform get-up and at cheap price covering the best literature in the world, and, in particular, the literature which stands for India and the fundamentals for which Indian culture stands. As a first step, it has been decided to publish in English 100 books selected by the General Editors. Each book will be approximately of 200 to 250 pages, and will be priced uniformly at Rs. 1-12-0 per copy. It is further proposed to publish these and many other books also in eight Indian languages, namely, Hindi, Bengali, Gujarathi, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam. This is indeed a very laudable venture — a venture, which is inspired by the Vedic motto: "Let noble thoughts come to us from every side". It would enable an ordinary reader in any of these languages to get acquainted not only with the world currents, but – what is perhaps more important at the present juncture – also with the main trends in

the literatures of other sister languages in India. This latter would help him to realise that, though differing in languages, all Indian literatures are characterised by a fundamental unity so far as their inspiration, concept, and ideal are concerned.

It was indeed a happy thought of the General Editors that they should have inaugurated this their momentous enterprise with a volume relating to the great national epic of India, the *Mahābhārata*. No other work than the *Mahābhārata* has proved of so much consequence in formulating the life and thought of the Indian people through the ages. As a matter of fact, the *Mahābhārata* can be regarded, with the fullest justification, as a living force in Indian life even today. It is very well said that, in this work, breathe the united soul of India and the individual souls of her people. It is, however, necessary to add that the appeal of the *Mahābhārata* is not merely Indian — it is also essentially human. For, there is hardly any human thought or feeling which is not expressed in it; and there is hardly any situation in human life which is not anticipated in it.It is, however, found—rather regretfully that the younger generation in India is tending to become unmindful of this rich cultural heritage. They do, no doubt, get to know the stories of the *Mahābhārata*—but in a very vague manner and often in a distorted form (mostly through the medium of the cinema). They are, therefore, unable to understand and appreciate the true spirit of the epic. With a view to remedying this unfortunate situation, Shri Rajagopalachari was persuaded to take up the task of giving the Tamil people the whole of the *Mahābhārata* in the form of stories. The same are now reproduced here in an English translation. Rajaji has covered the whole epic in 107 stories, which are presented in simple but graceful English prose. While each story is treated as if it were an independent unit, the author has succeeded in investing his narrative, as a whole, with a kind of continuity and connectedness. Far more appealing than the style and the technique of the book, however, is the author's devout earnestness which permeates it. One may expect to find hardly anything original or scholarly in a book of this kind. For, there already exist a number of translations of the *Mahābhārata* in English and Indian languages. Besides, Rajaji has not dealt with any problems—literary or historical—connected with the epic. But his book will have served its purpose if it creates anew, in younger men and women, the faith that, if properly understood,

the *Mahābhārata* still has a lesson to teach and a message to give not only to India but to the whole world now embroiled in stress and strife.

In *Gandhi's View of Life*, Shri Chandrashankar Shukla has tried to collect together Gandhi's views on a variety of subjects—religious, social, economic, and aesthetical—and present them in the form of a regular system of thought and practice. The difficulties of the task are quite patent and Shri Shukla seems to be conscious of them. Gandhi's personality and thought were not static ; they had been undergoing a continual process of evolution. As is well known, he regarded his whole life as comprising a series of experiments. If this fact was once properly realised, the apparent inconsistencies, paradoxes, and contradictions in Gandhiji's life would easily explain themselves. It would then be seen that there have been some basic principles and ideals which have governed Gandhiji's way of life and thought. The only thing is that he has reacted to those principles and ideals differently under different sets of circumstances. It is these principles and ideals which Shri Shukla has tried to set forth in this handy volume. The author has had the advantage of enjoying a certain proximity to Gandhiji over a number of years. He has already edited a few volumes containing the conversations of Gandhiji, the incidents of Gandhiji's life, the reminiscences of Gandhiji, and the famous interviews with Gandhiji. He thus possessed the necessary initial equipment for the task which he was called upon to undertake. Added to it was his wide and judicious reading relating to the various subjects treated by him. Both these become evident almost on every page of this book. It is certainly a good thing that, as far as possible, Shri Shukla has given Gandhiji's views in Gandhiji's own words. One, however, wonders whether it would not have been possible to achieve a greater unity and continuity in this otherwise admirable book by slightly rearranging the material presented in it. One also wonders whether it would not have been more desirable if the number of quotations from books other than Gandhiji's were smaller.

R. N. D.

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE MṚCCHAKAṬIKA by Dr. G. V. Devasthali, M.A., Ph.D., B.T., Poona Oriental Book House, Poona, 1951. Cr. 8° pp. ii, 184. Rs. 3-12-0.

The late Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar had planned a series of monographs in aid of the study of Sanskrit dramas and his *Veṇīsaṁhāra; A Study* was the first and alas! owing to his untimely death, the last volume of the series. It is gratifying to note that Dr. Devasthali has taken up the idea. His *Introduction to the study of Viśākhadatta and his Mudrārākṣasa*, published three years ago and the book under review are well suited for a detailed and critical study of the respective dramas. The present volume gives exhaustive information about the drama in 7 chapters viz. (1) Śūdraka, the author of the drama and his date (c. 1st - 4th centuries A. D.), (2) the plot, (3) a critical appreciation, (4) a study of the characters, (5) sources of the drama, (6) an estimate of Śūdraka as a dramatist and (7) the social conditions as depicted in the drama. These chapters are followed by Notes, most of which should have preferably been given as foot-notes and an Index of important words (one wonders as to why the names of most of the individuals are italicised !) and topics. Though the book is primarily intended as "a sort of practical guidance" to the University students the general readers also will find it useful and interesting as they can get herein a digest of the views of many scholars on the drama neatly and conveniently presented along with much that is writer's own, based on his long experience as a University teacher.

N. A. Gore

"THE DIVINE SONGS OF ZARATHUSHTRA" by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, Bombay ; 1951

I

This is a sumptuous volume covering about 1200 pages, dealing with the Gāthās of Zarathushtra, the Prophet of ancient Irān, containing the Text in Roman characters with literal translation and free rendering — both in English — and full critical and grammatical notes, metrical Index and Glossary ; a general Index and an exhaustive and very useful bibliography complete the picture.

Unlike other studies of the Gāthās, the author claims his present study as a philological study and he richly deserves the title to the same. The present work is, so to say, the crown to all his previous efforts in the field of Irānian studies. In philology the author has shown his erudition in the revised and enlarged edition of his "Elements of Science of Language", a lucidly written work, highly appreciated in the world of scholars.

The present generation of Indian scholars, — whether Hindu, Muslim, Parsi or any other — has largely drunk at the feet of European Scholars who were enthusisatic students of Oriental Religions and Literature during the last century and a half. After completing his studies in India — which included the study of Sanskrit at the instance of his father in order to enable him to drink deep at the fountain-head of wisdom of ancient India — गिता, उपनिषद्, वेद्,—the author had the good fortune to be able to study under Western scholars, especially in Germany, such as Geldner and Bartholomae, the one, सव्यसाचिन्, equally versed in the Veda and the Avesta, and the other, the author of the famous dictionary, "Altiranisches Wörterbuch". In the author's own words, he was "converted from Sanskrit to Avesta". He did not lose thereby; on the contrary he illuminated many a dark corner in the interpretation of Avestan texts by the gleam of light emanating from his Sanskrit—especially Vedic studies. It is singularly unfortunate that the author is not conversant with the Pahlavi tradition and that he has not travelled in Persia —

the ancestral home of the Parsis—in order to see things with his own eyes, visit ancient ruins, meet Irānian Zoroastrians and even Irānian Muslims.

So much for the author. Now about the general or fundamental principles which the author has kept in view. The approaches to the subject, of Western Scholars and of our author are materially different. The Western Scholars have a mere linguistic, philological, historical and antiquarian's interest and they even go to the length of saying that "all this is very childish," as Prof. Browne remarked. On the contrary, our author, as he says (p. 912), professes himself "to be a Mazdā-worshipping follower of Zarathustra." The qualities of being learned and at the same time of being "deeply religious," though not in the traditional sense, are rarely to be found in one and the same person His approach to the problem can be summed up in the one fine quotaion :

"Read the things of the flesh
with the eyes of the spirit,
Not the things of the spirit
with the eyes of flesh."

very much like Aurobindo Ghose's, who recommended the study of the Vedas as inspired utterances of holy sages, and 'eternal foundations of spiritual Life.' The principles guiding the author can be briefly stated thus :—

(1) Gāthās should be judged by themselves and in the light of their own contents.

(2) The help of the Vedic literature, being nearest to the Gāthās in language and spirit, should be constantly sought.

(3) Great attention should be directed to the metre of the Gāthās — hitherto grossly neglected —, the guiding principle being : " Unit of verse is unit of sense."

(4) The thought of the Gāthās being really profound, free rendering and not mere verbal presentation is necessary to bring to light the full significance of what the Prophet said.

(5) Although one has to live his material life and is required to deal with pasture and agriculture, cattle and horses, man's

aspirations are really after the achievement of *the Highest Goal of Life* (परमार्थ). गौ or Cow of the Gāthās must be taken to mean creation in general and Humanity in particular.

(6) One must disabuse one's mind of the preconceived notion that ancient religions " are gropings of ignorant humanity after Truth. " On the contrary, ancient times bristle with sages, irrespective of clime and time, who were endowed with Wisdom and Love — qualities of head and heart — who in the fulness of their wisdom and in the overflow of their love for humanity grasped at, ' the meaning of Existence ' more correctly, more firmly and more intimately than the protagonists of the much-vaunted advances of modern science aud technology. Zarathustra was among such for all humanity and for all time.

None need quarrel over the soundness of these general principles, although one may like to differ in some detail, here and there. First of all, it is of prime importance to state that there is need for further research in the direction of restoration of the original text of the Gāthās. The world is gradually coming to realise what deep debt of gratitude the world and humanity at large owes to those among the Hindus who faultlessly committed to memory the hymns of Vedas as they were first uttered and handed them down from generation to generation to the present day ! In fact, ऋग्वेद, the oldest book of humanity and the language in which it is written have become the master-key to unlock the treasures in other tongues : the foundation for building the structures of comparative philology, comparative mythology, comparative religion and what not ! ! Now that India has come into her own, no effort should be spared to promote the studies of ancient religions and cultures and languages at our Universities and learned societies.

For the proper understanding of the Gāthās and the Avestan literature not only the Vedic and later Sanskrit are necessary, but also Greek and Hittite and Tocharian. They are bound to throw light on many a dark corner in one another, as they are essentially and fundamentally derived from the same common stock, call it Indo-European or Indo-Hittite. Among the three ancient Aryan nations— Greece, Iran and India — Iran holds the middle position

and has influenced, and has been more influenced by, the other two of the trio. As the proverb says: "The Iranians were noted for three things: (i) They were good horsemen, (ii) they were good archers or marksmen and (iii) they scrupulously adhered to Truth." Horse-riding and archery are gradually vanishing from the scene, but Truth alone is bound to remain, the अश of झरथुस्त्र and is ultimately destined to triumph ("सत्यमेव जयते"). This is the heritage of झरथुस्त्र ; and if practised in our daily lives the message is bound to deliver mankind out of the clutches of Death and Destruction and is greater than all the Gāthās and the Vedas put together as व्यास says in the महाभारत (3. 64. 17) :—

"चत्वार एकतो वेदाः
सांगोपांगाः सविस्तराः ।
स्वधीता मनुजव्याघ्र
सत्यमेकं किलैकतः ॥"

II

Now by way of expressing critical appreciation or giving points of difference of opinion or offering new constructive suggestions, I shall choose at random a few instances :—

(1) Yas. 34. 13 (p. 391)

" *mīždəm*, Mazdā,

*y*ehyā Tū Dathrəm "

This "Dathrəm" occurs, I think, only once in the Gāthās. It obviously, comes from the root *dā* – to give or create. If you connect mīzdəm Dathrəm and interpret it as 'giver or gift of reward' it, so to say, tries to give, though popular, explanatory etymology of *mazdaṃ* which has not yet been satisfactorily explained; cf. 'मीळ्हुषे' 'असुराय' ऋ. 5. 41. 2–3 (mazda Ahura).

(2) Yas. 28. 10 (p. 122)

Note on the word 'vōistā' can be further strengthened by the following comparison of Vedic, Avestic and Greek forms:—

Skt	Av.	Gk.
Véda	Vaēda	Oida

(this is an example of perfect with present sense, surprisingly in all the three languages.)

(3) Yas. 30.11 (p. 169)

Av. Urvātā (law or ordinance) has been compared philologically with Skt. *vratá*, and Gk. rhētón. The Skt. word is commonly sought "to be derived from √vṛ to choose or to will." But a glance at any Indo-Germ. dictionary will give you *u̯er "to speak" as the root. The meaning of the cognate Gk. word *rhḗtra* is : "an *unwritten* (i. e. spoken) law," which throws a flood of light on the meaning of the Skt. vratá.

(4) Yas 33. 4 (p. 317)

"*y*azāi apā" (I pray away, i. e. with the force of prayers I drive away) Parallel quotation, giving the root अवयज्, is given from the ऋ० ; but we find in the कौशिकसूत्र the words ' अप यजामसि ' (we drive off by means of sacrifice).

(5) Yas. 33. 4 (p. 317)

'Thwat' is 5/1 of a pronominal adjective 'Thwa' (meaning, 'one belonging to thee'). This is a common occurrence in the Av. But so far as one can know, there is only one instance in the ऋ० (2. 20. 2):

" त्वं न इन्द्र त्वाभिरूती
त्वायतो अभिष्टिपासि जनान् । "

(where ऊती (3/1) though singular in form is really plural as it is qualified by त्वाभिः (Inst. plu of त्व f.); here त्व means 'thy' or 'thine').

(6) Yas. 45. 3 (p. 542)

In the note on 'avōi' the author says "also जञ्जनोभवन्त shimmering (RV. viii. 43. 8)" Whitney (SG 1091) says :

"जञ्जनाभवन्त flimmering" so he is misled by Whitney as the word is जञ्जणाभवन्त :—

" जिह्वाभिरह नन्नमद्
अर्चिषा जञ्जणाभवन् । "
अग्निर्वनेषु रोचते ॥ "

(7) Yas. 33. 5 (p. 320)

मीढ्वस् in ऋ०

Av. *darəgō*— jyāitīm lit. '*long*' life, I suggest that 'darego' is the same word, etymologically as 'long'. Cf Boisacq: (Greek etymological dictionary p. 194) " dolichos (long) = (the *i* is inexplicable) सं. दीर्घ : zd darəga old Persian darga सं. comp. द्राघियान् longer द्राघिमा. द्राघ्मा. zd drājah— length v. slav. dlugu lit. ilgas (dropping of d is inexplicable) long. i. e. base: delāgh be long. Nasalized form: i. e. *dlonghos lat. *longus* = got. laggs v.h.a. lang (long); we find the same root in lat. *indulgeō*" I fail to understand why Boisacq rejects in f. n. 2) on p. 194 old Persian *dranga* as belonging to this group; the nasal can be easily explained as we have it in Latin and some other languages; we get धिरंगाई in Marathi from this Old Persian *dranga* or Hindi धिरंग.

(8) Let us consider Av. *ugrabāzāus* (strong-armed), an epithet of *mithra* in yt. 10. 75 (Cf ai. उग्रबाहुः said of इन्द्र (ऋ. 8. 61. 10) and ai. उग्रबाहवः said of मरुत· (ऋ. 8. 20. 12) and Old Persian *dahāus* (Province) (Cf ai. दस्यु country)

The u-stems showing these two forms of the nom. masc. with final 1) *us* or 2) *aus* are found in Hittite :—

(1) *asus* (good) (Cf Indo-Germanic languages ai. स्वादुः gk: hēdus goth. sunus)

(2) *harnaus* (birth chair)

(Cf Indo-germanic language : Zd. or Av. ugra-bāz*āus* and O P dah*āus*)

This close resemblance of Indo-Hittite languages is, indeed, remarkable (see *p.* 168 of " A comparative grammar of the Hittite language " by Sturtevant.)

(9) Yasna 51. 4 and 53. 9 (glossary, P. 969)

" Kū " " Abbreviated form of Kuthrā ". Cf Hittite *kwis* (who, which *kwapi* (where, when)

[Cf lat. ali*cubi*=aliquis+ubi

(some)+(where)

Old archaic form is *cubi*]

Indo-European Stein is Ku

(Skt. and Av. Kū skt. कुतः, कुह. कुत्र) (P. 120, Sturtevant)

(10) Av. xrūra (blood-thirsty)

Yasna 48. 11 (glossary, P. 970)

" The Indo-Hittite ū

becomes Hittite u :

e. g. H. *kurur* (hostile)

= सं. क्रूरः (wounded, raw, cruel)

= Av. Xrūra (bloody, cruel)

Cognate forms are :

Kwerzi (cuts off)

Kukursanz (mutilated)

(This is redup. form in H; but a parallel word करूळती (ऋ. 4. 30. 24) " वामं देव: करूळती " is found only once in ऋ० This is said of पूषन्; Cf " तस्मात पूषा प्रपिष्टभागो ऽदन्तको हि " (तै. सं. 2. 6. 8. 5);

also निरुक्त (6.30-31) " करूळती । कृत्तदती । तत्कः करूळती । भगः । पुरस्तात्तस्यान्वादेश इत्येकम् । पूषा इत्यपरम् । सोऽदन्तकः । अदन्तकः पूषा इति च ब्राह्मणम् (शत० ब्रा० 1.7.4.7) "

करूळती—करूडती—करूदती

where करू means 'wounded' or 'mutilated'

Kursas (hide) (cf. सं. कृत्तिः hide)

(सं. क्रविष् raw flesh and also क्रव्य in क्रव्यात् are cognate words ; this क्रव्य has given place to कव्य in हव्यकव्य, just as क्रियाम्बु has given place to कियांबु in ऋ० 10. 16. 13, by the dropping of र्).

(11) Yas. 30. 8 (glossary, p. 973)

" jamaiti " (goes, is in motion)

Av. Indo-Hittite *e* remains except before r and consonants :

H. *wemiyezi* (comes upon, finds) Lat. venio (come), invenio (find) Goth. qiman (come) Av. jamaiti (goes); Gk. bainō thus seems to differ from Lat. venio in ablaut as OE Cuman from Goth. qiman.

(12) Now a word, though not in the Gathas *čathrus* adv. (four times) [see Bartho. p. 579]. ·

(1) " cathrus hamay xsapo " (four times in the same night).

(2) " cathrus frasnādayen V. 7. 75.

" The pre-IE change of *wr* to *ru* before a consonant must be pushed back into the pre-IH period on account of Hittite Kutrus (witness): Lat. quadrupes, quadruplus Gk. truphaleia (helmet) and Av. cathrus (four times)".

This Gk. *tru* < * ptru * qutru gives clue to the Vedic word तुरीय ; cf. Boisacq, (p. 988) " cf. hom. *tetra*, i. e. * qu (,,) (e)tru Zd. cathru Lat. quadru and Gall. *petru* in petru = decametos (fourteenth)".

V. P. Limaye

नव्या कवयितृद्वयी

(निबन्धकः– श्रीशिवप्रसाद-भट्टाचार्यः)

(अखिलभारतीय-प्राच्यविद्या-सम्मेलने मूम्बाइपुर्यधिवेशने वाचितो निबन्धः)

परां त्रिदिवसोदरां भुवनवन्द्यधात्रीकृतां
गवीं विबुधबान्धवीं निखिललोकयात्राहिताम् ।
नदीं प्रथितवैशदीं सरसचित्तसंनोदिनीं
भजामि गहनाञ्जनां सपदि पापतापार्दिनीम् ॥[1]

नैतदविदितचरं विदुषां यदुत समुदाचारचारुप्रपञ्चेऽपि प्रजापतिकृतिमतिशयाने कविकर्मण्यकालहार्यताऽप्रकारबाध्यता वा समवधातुं शक्यते मनीषिभिरभीप्सितसंहितमतिभिः। यदाहुर्विपश्चित्प्रवीणा वचःसन्दर्भशुद्धिमादधाना देशकालोपाधिमपोह्य वर्तमानां प्रज्ञाप्रकृतिं विश्लेषयन्तः—

उदन्वच्छन्ना भूः स च पतिरपां योजनशतं
सदा पान्थः पूषा गगनपरिमाणं कलयति ।
इति प्रायो भावाः स्फुरदवधिमुद्रामुकुलिताः
सतां प्रज्ञोन्मेषः पुनरयमसीमा विजयते ॥

इति 'दृष्टपूर्वा अपि ह्यर्थाः काव्ये रसपरिग्रहात् । सर्वे नवा इवाभान्ति मधुमास इव द्रुमाः ॥' इति च साटोपं प्रकटयन्तः सूक्तियुक्तिचणाः कवयोऽभियुक्ततमा विदग्धसत्तमाश्च । निसर्गशक्तेरियत्तया परिच्छेत्तुमशक्यत्वादनादिनिधनायाः परमगहनाया अघटनघटनपटीयस्या मायाया इव भाषाविशेषकायाया भारत्याः स्वाभाव्याद्विपक्तिमज्ज्ञानगतेर्मानुषमतेश्च तत्त्वात् को नाम विमृश्यवादी काव्यानां प्राचीनतेदानीन्तनताभ्यां पृथक्संस्थां प्रथयितुं बद्धसंरम्भः स्यात् ? यदिह कैश्चिन्मतिभेदतमः । संमोहितैः संस्कारपाटवं संकेतकैतवमिवाभि पक्षपातप्रवणैरलभ्यापोह्यश्चितोऽत्यन्तं प्रतिभामूलमुच्छिन्दतोऽनभ्यासव्यासङ्गस्य-परिपन्थित्वं कक्षीकुर्वद्भिरात्मप्रसादोऽनुभूयते न तत् सर्वथा सर्वत्र वस्तुतन्त्रानुवर्तीत्यवधारणायाः कालोऽयमागतः, अन्यथा स्वशक्तिपथामपह्नुवानाः स्वभावमपह्नुवाणा वयं किल्बिषिणोऽयथाऽऽत्महनश्च भवेमेति महतीयमनर्थपरम्परा । आस्तां तावद्विभूतिमतां मुष्टिमेयानां केषामपि प्रसङ्गो ये खलु द्वित्राः पञ्चषा वेति सहृदयचूडामणीनां व्याहृतिः ।

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१ श्लोकस्यास्य व्याख्यानं प्रकरणोपयोगश्च लेखकेनान्यत्र प्रातन्यतेत्यतो विरम्यते ।

अलमतिप्रसङ्गेन । "श्रुतेन यत्नेन च वागुपासिता ध्रुवं करोत्येव कमप्यनुग्रहम्" । इदानीन्तनानां सुरभारतीसेवापरायणानां सद्भावगौरवोद्भावने तात्पर्यं वरीवर्ति । नव्यमपि काव्यं भव्यं स्यादिति नः साध्यं नैकान्तदुःसाधमिति प्रकटयितुं नव्या . कवयितृद्वयी तत्कृतिप्रकृतिसंकीर्तनमुखेन यथायथोदाहरणोपन्यासेन च कोविदानां गोचरत्वामापाद्यते । एकतरश्चास्या इतः सार्धशतप्रायवर्षे लब्धजन्मा वङ्गीयराजकीयसंस्कृतपाठशालायामप्रतिद्वन्द्वी साहित्याध्यापको राढमण्डलद्विजमुकुटमणिः परःशतप्राच्यप्रतीच्यान्तेवासिनामसम आचार्यः स्वनामधन्यस्तर्कवागीशोपाधिकः प्रेमचन्द्रो यमुद्दिश्यार्यसाहित्यशिक्षकस्य कस्यापि तच्छिष्यस्य तदीयलोकान्तरप्रयाणकाले शोकप्रशस्तिः—

प्राप्ताऽधुना रसिकते त्वमनाश्रयत्वं विद्यालय त्वमसि रे मुषितैकरत्नः ।
याते गुरौ दिवमपेतरुचिश्चिरायालङ्कार रे बत पुरा कमलङ्करोषि ॥

इति-अधीयानस्तर्कविद्यां विद्यामन्दिरमध्यगः ।
अलङ्काराध्यापनायां राज्ञा यो विनियोजितः ॥
देशमेतं परित्यज्य प्रस्थाने विहितोद्यमम् ।
पुनर्यदनुरोधेन कवित्वं स्थातुमिच्छति ॥

इति यदीयात्मपरिचयो भूतार्थव्याहृतिर्नयविनययोः परा काष्ठेति च नातिगरिष्ठमुच्छ्वासजल्पितम् । अपरश्चाधुनातनानामार्यशास्त्रे विहितपरिचयानां विशेषतो वङ्गप्रान्तीयानामतिस्निग्धतया विदितो गुणगणैरगण्यैरनवरोऽर्धशतप्रबन्धनिबन्धको वादेष्वाप्तजयो नानादर्शनपरमाचार्यो विश्वविश्रुतकीर्तिः प्रतिभामूर्तिः सर्वतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रो ब्रह्मसूत्रोपरि शक्तिभाष्यस्य रचयिता भागीरथीतीरस्थाग्रहारभतल्लिकाभट्टपल्लीवास्तव्यः पञ्चाननतर्करत्नभट्टाचार्यो यं खल्वधिकारिणः साक्षाद्वाक्पतिमक्षपादमथवेत्याचक्षते । परमेतस्योभयस्यापि सत्कविजन्यं यशस्तथा नाशाः सर्वा विषयीकरोति विमलीकरोति च यथा पाण्डित्यबहुमानः ।

तीर्थभूतयोरेतयोरात्मनि सुरभारत्या निर्जरयौवनाहितशक्तिधारायां चाकपटः प्रत्ययो सत्कृत्यसाधने बद्धपरिकरता स्वकीयमातृभाषायामनुरागतस्तत्सेवासक्तिः सामाजिकानामुपरि स्वतःस्फूर्तप्रभावप्रकटने निःसपत्नता चैवमाद्यो धर्मा लक्षणत्वमीयुर्व्यतीयुश्च विश्वेश्वरचरणशरणमनु कालकृतामवधिविडम्बनाम् । तर्कवागीशचरणास्तावत्तत्कालसुलभोदारतासारा अपि स्वकृत्यमाहात्म्यभावनयाऽऽप्राणपातमुहूर्तमार्यशास्त्रव्यवसायिनः प्रत्नादर्शसेविनश्च नूत्नतरशुचिवेशभूषापरिपाटीमनुरुन्धाना अप्यन्तिमे श्रेष्ठगुरुसङ्गसङ्गतयत्नाः संततरुक्षप्रकृतिश्रितायां राढायां वाढं गाढग्रन्थयोऽपि सुकुमारग्रन्थग्रन्थनेन सरसचित्तवृत्त्या भक्तोचितप्रपत्त्या च मधुरमहिमानो गुणग्रामोद्भासियशःशरीरा अभूवन् । तर्करत्नपादा

वेशक्लेशमाहार्यमवगणय्यावेशहार्यस्यात्मनो गुणं ख्यापयन्तो जगन्मातुः शक्तेस्तादात्म्यप्रचारणपराः शास्त्राचाररताः 'कठोरकृच्छ्रव्रतजीविनो जनिमतामग्रिमाः सर्वातिशायिचोदनामुररीकृत्य कृतकृत्याः परमशिवार्पितचित्तवित्ताः शिवशक्तिसमायोगेनानन्यतन्त्रा वचसि यशसि सत्ये प्रोल्लसद्धर्मसत्त्वे चरमां पारमीं विश्राणयाञ्चक्रुः। एकस्य सौजन्यजन्या प्रतिपत्तिरपरस्यार्जस्वितोत्था उत्थानशक्तिस्तदात्वे वङ्गीयसमाजेतिवृत्तं गौरवोज्ज्वलतयोद्भासयति यस्योदग्रतरः प्रभावहार्यः प्राज्यसाम्राज्यव्यापी सुकृतोत्करस्तयोः साहित्यसेवायामैकान्तिकयत्नसमुच्चितायामुत्कर्षस्य परम्पारं चरितोत्तरितदोषमोषमयमयत्नत एव समवाप।

अत्र तावदेकैकशोऽनयोः कवयित्र्योरौचित्यविचारचर्चायां सुधीवृन्दसभभ्यर्चितपादपद्मस्य प्रेमसुधानिधेः प्रेमचन्द्रस्य कविकलायां जनगणमनोऽधिनायकानां कालपटेऽतिप्रकटघटनावलीतूलिकायमानानां तदानीन्तनैतिह्यबाह्यावयवभूतानां केषामपि वाणीचित्राण्ययत्नत एव चेतःप्रोन्मीलकतया विमर्शपदवीमधिरोहन्ति। सहृदयधुरीणस्य तस्यानन्यसुलभः संस्तवस्तत्तदाहितसाहित्यसौहितीं सुभाषितगुम्फे जाग्रतीं विदग्धसंहतिमुखबद्धामकरोदित्यत्र चूर्णकेषु पूर्णतास्फूर्तिरेवैकं निदानम्। तथा च तरुणिमनि संस्कृतमहाविद्यालये प्रवेशकृते वितीर्णकरालम्बानामाग्रतो च तत्रत्यायां प्रतिष्ठायां सहायकानामुद्देशे तत्कृतकविते–

कोम्पानेरखिलक्ष्मातलभृतः सम्मानितो विश्रुतः
श्रीयुक्तो जगतीतले विजयतामुइल्सनः साहवः।
यस्यानन्तगुणावलीविलासितं प्रेक्षावतां प्रीतिदं
मन्ये मन्थरतां व्रजन्ति भणितुं वाचोऽपि वाचस्पतेः॥
गोलश्रीदीर्घिकाया बहुविटपितटे कोलिकातानगर्यां
निःसङ्गो वर्तते संस्कृतपठनगृहाख्यः कुरङ्गः कृशाङ्गः।
हन्तुं तं भीतचित्तं विधृतखरशरो मेकले-व्याधराजः
साश्रु ब्रूते स भो भो उइलसन-महाभाग मां रक्ष रक्ष॥

प्रेमचन्द्रभणितिलालित्यव्यभिचारपरस्यापि तथ्यप्रकटनपटोर्यस्य द्वितीयश्लोकोत्तरत उइलसनमहोदयानां रसभाववैभवकोमलोऽर्थगौरवपेशलः परमकाण्डोच्छलितकृपाकलनकलुषः श्लोको विद्वदभिनन्दनेन लब्धसत्ताकोऽनेककोविदैरिदानीमपि स्मर्यते—

निष्पिष्टाऽपि परं पदाहतिशतैः शश्वद्बहुप्राणिनां
सन्तप्ताऽपि करैः सहस्रकिरणेनाग्निस्फुलिङ्गोपमैः।
छागाद्यैश्च विचर्विताऽपि सततं मृष्टाऽपि कुद्दालकैः
दूर्वा न म्रियते कृशाऽपि नितरां धातुर्दया दुर्बले॥

सततमभ्युत्थानशीलायाः सुरभारत्या राजपुरुषसानुकम्पदृष्टिमपेक्षमाणाया दशाविपर्यास आधुनिकतरैस्तुलनीयः। एतस्यैव संस्कृतमहाविद्यालयस्यैकदा भाग्यविधातॄणामेकत्र स्मरणं सविशेषश्लेषपुरःसरं कस्य न चेतश्चमत्करोति ?

> च्युतदले कमले जडताऽऽकुले व्रजति मारशले च मधुव्रते ।
> विधिवशादधुना मधुनाऽऽहृतः रसमयः समयः समुपागतः ।

प्रेमचन्द्रशिष्यस्यार्यसाहित्याध्यापतकतया स्वदेशेऽपि विश्रुतस्य काउएल्महोदयस्य गुरुगुरुकुलप्रशस्तिपरा कवित्वप्रसरमयी पाश्चात्याऽऽश्वासवाणी पौरस्त्यानां प्राचीनानुविधायिनां मनसि जागर्ति—

> विद्यालयो निर्जरयौवनः क्व काव्यं च नित्यामृतभोगवर्षि ।
> क्वाहं च जीर्णो बलबोधिहीनो निःसारतां देहभृतां धिगेव ॥

एतमेव बलबोधिसिद्धं शुद्धमार्यसाहित्यश्रद्धाप्ररोहं ततोऽवसरग्रहणकाले स्मरन् कविः स्वयमेवाधोदर्शितं श्लोकं निबबन्ध—

> आशाः सर्वास्तिमिरवलिता अस्तलीनोंऽशुमाली-
> त्युत्कण्ठाऽर्धामुकुलितदृशोऽप्याकुलाया नलिन्याः।
> अन्तः पुष्पं प्रतिनिधिरभूत् स्वर्णवर्णाभरेणु-
> श्चिन्तारूढा विरहिहृदये प्रोषितस्येव मूर्तिः ॥

यत्सत्यं कीर्तिशेषं गतवति तस्मिंस्तदेकचित्तस्तच्छिष्याणामन्यतमः सुकविस्ताराकुमारकविरत्नमहोदयस्तन्नैसर्गिकशक्तिमनुस्मरन् शुशोच—

> या प्रेमचन्द्रे जगदेकचन्द्रेऽप्यस्तं गते भारतभाग्यदोषात् ।
> समाश्रिता हा प्रियपुत्रशोकात्कवित्वदेवीह मुमूर्षुभावम् ॥

कवेरस्याशुकवित्वख्यापिन्यः कति न कविता वङ्गप्रान्ते पण्डितमुखेषु समुच्चरन्ति। कवयितुरतस्य हस्तालम्बमनुप्राणानाश्चाधातुं बद्धपरिकराणां संवादप्रभाकरसंपादयितृस्वनामप्रकटशक्तीश्वरचन्द्रगुप्तादिवङ्गीयसाहित्यसेवाव्रतानां सांवादिकशेमुषीमभिनन्दयितुं रचिताभ्यः कविताभ्यः सुधीवृन्दनन्दिताभ्यः संवादपत्रेतिवृत्तसंकलनं नापश्रम इवावभाति ।

> सतां मनस्तामरसप्रभाकरः सदैव सर्वेषु समप्रभाकरः ।
> उदेति भास्वत्सकलाप्रभाकरः सदर्थसंवादनवप्रभाकरः ॥
> नक्तं चन्द्रकरेण भिन्नमुकुलेष्विन्दीवरेषु क्वचिद्
> भ्रामं भ्राममतन्द्रमीषदमृतं पीत्वा तृषाकातराः ।
> अद्योद्यद्विमलप्रभाकरकरप्रोद्भिन्नपद्मोदरे
> स्वच्छन्दं दिवसे पिबन्तु चतुराः स्वान्तद्विरेफा रसम् ॥

भ्रातर्बोधसरोज किं चिरयसे मौनस्य नायं क्षणो
दोषध्वान्त दिगन्तरं व्रज न तेऽवस्थानमत्रोचितम् ।
भो भोः सत्पुरुषाः कुरुध्वमधुना सत्कृत्यमत्यादराद्
गौरीशङ्करपूर्वपर्वतमुखादुज्जृम्भते भास्करः ॥

धनिनां स्थानास्थानकृतमुचितानुचितवित्तवितरणमुपजीव्य सद्य एव रचितावधौ निहितौ श्लोकौ तस्याशुकवेः कमपि सहासोत्प्रासं महिमविकाशं प्रथयतः—

सरसि सरोरुहमेकं मिलिताश्च सहस्रशो मधुपाः ।
आस्तामिह मधुपानं स्थितिरेव सुदुर्लभा जाता ॥
सुललितमपि काव्यं याचकैर्वाच्यमानं
धनवितरणभीत्या नाद्रियन्ते धनाढ्याः ।
कलमपि मशकानां मञ्जुगुञ्जन्मुखानां
रुतमिह सहते को दंशनाशङ्किचेताः ॥

साहित्यगुरोर्जयगोपालतर्कालङ्कारस्य स्वस्यैव परःशतकृतविद्यार्थिनामाचार्यस्य स्वरूपप्रकटनपरं तत्पद्यं संस्कृतविद्याऽऽयतने प्रथितचरितानामीश्वरचन्द्रविद्यासागरपादानां तदन्तेवासिनामपरमवरं किमपि स्मारयच्चमत्कारं जनयति ।

गोवर्धनोद्धरणविश्वजनीनकर्मविस्मापितैर्विबुधवन्दिभिरुच्चगीतम् ।
मायागुणैरनभिभूतमनन्तशक्तिं गोपालमेकमनघं शरणं व्रजामः ॥

शास्त्रव्यवसायिषु बोद्धृषु कृतास्पदा सुचिरं प्रचरन्ती समस्यापूर्तिव्यसनिता प्रसादसौभाग्यपरभागवित्ता युक्तिसूक्तिपवित्रा समस्याकल्पलतोद्भावयितुस्तस्याधस्तादुद्धृतेषु प्राचीनसरणिमनुसरत्सु पद्येषु दरीदृश्यते । यथा चतुर्थपादतद्द्वयद्वयपूर्तिमुदाहरणीकृत्य कृतेषु श्लोकेष्वेषु

नयनं गुरुधैर्यविप्लवं तव कृष्णार्जुनसच्छवि प्रिये ।
कृतशान्तनवानुतापनं किल कर्णाकमणेऽपि चेष्टते ॥
न दत्ते प्रत्युक्तिं निवसनविमुक्तिं न सहते
धुनीते मूर्धानं स्फुटवचनशून्योत्तरयति ।
परीरम्भारम्भे त्वसहनतरायाः परमहो
नकारोऽलङ्कारो जयति मुखचन्द्रे मृगदृशः ॥
कृत्ये साधु समार्पितेऽपि न मनः प्राप्नोत्यसन्दिग्धतां
लब्धेऽप्युन्नतलोकसंमतपदे भ्रंशाद्भयं जायते ।
स्वच्छन्दाचरणं प्रियैर्विहरणं सर्वं च दूरं गतं
सत्यं कष्टमिदं प्रकाममिह यद्राज्ञः पराधीनता ॥

क्षणं लीलाऽऽलापं परिहर हरे त्वं कमलया
त्वरावानागत्य प्रकटय मदन्तः प्रणयिताम् ।
न कार्या ते हेला शरणद न वेला स्मृतिविधौ
कृतान्तो दुर्दान्तः क्षणमपि विलम्बं न सहते ॥
हसितविकसितास्यं दातुमर्थान् प्रवृत्ते
त्वयि सति धनमत्तान् याचका न प्रयान्ति ।
सति सरसि समीपे स्वादुपानीयपूर्णे
किमु भवति जनानां सागराम्भःपिपासा ॥

प्रासङ्गिकं प्रास्ताविकं च श्लोकनिबन्धनं तस्य कलाकौशलं ख्यापयति । यथा नैषधचरित्रपूर्वार्धटीकाकलनारम्भे द्वितीयः श्लोकः—

अन्यासु भावबहुलासु सदर्थिकासु
टीकासु चेदिह भवेद्विफलप्रयत्नः ।
सद्भिस्तथापि मृदुबोधविबोधनार्थं
जातोद्यमोऽहमिह संप्रति नावबुध्ये ॥

द्व्यर्थकाव्यराघवपाण्डवीयटीकोपद्घाते सालंकारवस्तुध्वनिः श्लोकः ।

अर्थान् ग्रहीतुमिह काव्यपुरे प्रविश्य
युष्माकमस्ति यदि चेतसि सत्यमिच्छा ।
काठिन्यदुर्धरकपाटविपाटिकां मे
टीकां तदा प्रथममेव करे कुरुध्वम् ॥

'जीर्णोद्धारे सदोषेऽपि नोद्धर्ताऽर्हति वाच्यताम्' इति कृत्वा तत्कृतमनःप्रयासवतस्तत्स्वरूपेणैव लब्धप्रतिष्ठस्य तत्त्वेनैवाभिख्यावतां प्रयासमभिनन्द्य विनयोर्जितसामर्थ्यप्रकटनकल्पे काव्यादर्शटीकोपसंहारे च तदीये पद्ये न केषां सुमनसाममनोगोचरे—

उद्दण्डैलॅण्डपृथ्वीपतिविजितमिदं भारतं वर्षमस्मिन्
कल्क्याता राजधानी धनिगुणिवणिजां वासभूर्भूविभूषा ।
अस्यामस्यातिकाख्या समितिरमितधीवैभवैः कालर्जार्यत्
प्राच्याश्चर्यप्रमेयोद्धृतिपरमतिभिः सज्जनैः साज्जिताऽभूत ॥
आदेश एव तस्याः कृशमतिवचसोऽपि मेऽजनयत् ।
व्याख्यानेऽस्मिन् शक्तिं गरयति हि लघुं परिग्रहो महताम् ॥

अखण्डकाव्यरचने तस्य पारिपाट्यविषये किमपि यौवनचेष्टितमसमाप्तायां पुरुषोत्तमराजावल्यां प्रकटमप्यप्रकटप्रायमस्ति । हेतुश्चासमाप्तिपक्षे नोहितुमशक्यः । आद्यस्तत्र जीर्णोद्धाररतस्य स्वशास्त्राध्यापनव्रतस्य स्वातन्त्र्यमपकर्षतोऽनुष्ठाननित्यस्वस्य पर्याप्तकमतायाः क्लृप्तोपचारकलिते कालाभावः । कालोऽपि

तदा नानुकूलः सर्गबन्धसन्धाने: 'समय एव करोति बलाबलमिति कृत्वा तच्चेष्टा-विरतिर्नीतितरां क्षतयेऽभवत् । एतत्समकक्षायामन्तर्भावितस्याप्यसमकक्षस्य क्षितीशवंशावलीनामकस्याख्यानकाव्यस्य सरणिरपि न महाकाव्यप्रकृतिमनु-सन्दधानाऽऽसीदिति विदितप्रायमेव विपश्चिताम् । परन्तूचितप्रसादगुणभूयिष्ठता वर्णनाचातुरी प्राचीनशैलीशालीनता चात्रापि वरीवर्ति ।

औत्कण्ठादिव साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीस्त्यक्त्वाऽन्यभूपतीन् ।
बद्धानुरागा गुणिनं भेजे यं पुरुषोत्तमम् ॥
यवनान् शकसंज्ञातान् विनाश्य युधि यो बली ।
साहाय्यमकरोत् पूर्वं कल्किनोऽवतरिष्यतः ।
यस्योद्दामगुणग्रामो लोकातीता क्रियास्तथा ।
अद्यापि वृद्धसंलापे यान्ति दृष्टान्तभूतताम् ॥
पर्याप्तकविकर्मत्वादेकान्तध्यानतत्परः ।
मन्ये यच्चरितं व्यासो नेहितासेष्ववर्णयत् ॥
यस्मिन् शासति निर्वैरा निर्भया निरुपद्रवाः ।
अन्वभूवन् प्रजाः सर्वा रामराज्योत्थितं सुखम् ॥
अत्यर्थमर्थान् ददतो यशो यस्यार्थिनां गणान् ।
आह्वातुमिव भूचक्रे भ्रमति स्म निरन्तरम् ॥
कार्यानुद्विग्नचित्तस्य यस्य काव्यानुशीलनैः ।
कालो यातो महाकालसेवया च समृद्धया ॥
विदग्धजनमण्डल्या मण्डितं पण्डितैर्वृतम् ।
धर्माधिकरणं यस्य सुधर्माधर्ममावहत् ॥
सोऽखिलान् पृथिवीपालान् वशीकृत्य निजौजसा ।
एकातपत्रं बुभुजे राज्यमार्यगणाग्रणीः ॥

इत्यादिका सम्राजो विक्रमादित्यस्य वर्णना "।

अयमेव जनैर्निगद्यते नयशाली किल शालिवाहनः ।
यमनन्तगुणं गुणप्रिया नृपलक्ष्मीः स्वयमेत्य सङ्गता ॥
जननावधि साधुजन्मनश्चरितं यस्य यशस्विनः श्रुतम् ।
विदधाति न कस्य मानसं कुतुकालीतरलं धरातले ॥

इत्यादि शालिवाहनसंबन्धि सरसानुविधानगुणगानप्रकरणं कस्य न प्रमोदावहम्!

प्रशस्तिकाव्यनिर्माणे स्तोत्रादिप्राचीनानुचरितचर्यायामपि तस्यालोक-सामान्यं प्रावीण्यमासीत् । आन्दूलराजप्रशस्त्याख्ये काव्ये (यद्विषये तत्समका-लभाविना पञ्चाननतर्करत्नपादानां जनकेन सुकविना नन्दलालविद्यारत्नेनाप्येकं

काव्यं समीहितमासीदिति तदभिजनेषु श्रूयते) कवेरस्य कुतः कुतः प्रामक-वित्वजीविनोऽप्यनघस्य शब्दालङ्कारसंघटनेन गौडीयरीतिचणत्वं न कस्याप्यतिरोहितम् । यथा

आसीदूर्जितवीर्यजीर्यदहितव्यूहप्रगीतस्तव-
प्रीत्युत्कर्षकरम्बितान्तरचरत्कारुण्यशान्ताशयः ।
कायस्थान्वयमुग्धदुग्धजलधिप्रोद्भूतशीतद्युतिः
शुद्धात्मा भुवि रामलोचन इति प्रख्यातनामा नृपः ॥
यस्याभवद्विभवतुन्दिलमान्दुलेति
ख्यातं परं प्रकृतिराजितराजधानी ।
या शुभ्रसौधशिखरप्रकरैर्नराणां
गौडेऽपि शैवशिखरिभ्रममातनोति ॥
कालीघट्टान्तराले कलिकलुषकुलोन्मूलनोत्कीर्तनाख्याः
कालीदेव्याः पुरस्तात्पुरमथनपदप्राप्तिसोपानभूता ।
येन क्ष्मापेण कीर्त्या शशिकरसितया सार्धमुद्वर्धमाना
प्रोत्तुङ्गस्तम्भमाला व्यरचि सुविमला नाट्यशाला विशाला ॥
व्योम्नि ज्योत्स्नायमाना, पयसि जलनिधेः फेनलेखायमाना
शृङ्गे गङ्गायमाना तुहिनशिखरिणो दिक्षु सौधायमाना ।
क्षोण्यां वन्यायमाना शिरसि मृगदृशां कुन्ददामायमाना
सर्वत्र द्योतमाना विलसति नृपतेः कीर्तिरद्यापि यस्य ॥

इत्यादिपद्येषु । स्तोत्ररचनाचर्यायां वयन्तस्याकृत्रिमां भक्तिधारामनुपमशब्दचयचयनघनलालित्यभङ्गीमभियुक्तयुक्तिसूक्तिसरणिं विवेचयन्तस्तत्र त्रिवेणीसंगमसमाधिमधिगच्छन्तो धन्यम्मन्या मोदामहे । तत्र दिग्दर्शने कल्पे तद्ग्रथिताः श्लोकाः—

निरुध्येवाध्वानं यमसदनयानं तनुभृतां
निषेद्धुं कारुण्यादधिवसति यो दक्षिणदिशम् ।
स मे कामग्राहाकुलचपलभोगभ्रामियुते
जगन्नाथो नाथो भवतु भवपाथोनिधिजले ॥

किमापः किं तापत्रयशमनसिद्धौषधमिदं
किमाधारो मुक्तेः किमु परमधाम्नः परिणतिः ।
विकल्पान् यातेव त्वयि जननि लोका विदधते
समस्ताः सत्यास्ते तव महिमसीमा न सुगमा ॥

न गङ्गेति प्रोक्तं न च जननि पीतं तव जलं
न वा तत्र स्नातं सकृदपि मया पूर्वजनुषि ।
न चेदित्थं तथ्यं कथमवनिदावे निपातितो
भ्रमाम्याशास्वाशाशतजनितदुःखान्यनुभवन् ॥
सुरधुनि धनदारापत्यभृत्यादिसम्पत्
क्षितिपरिवृढता वा त्वत्पदान्नार्थनीया ।
भगवति सति काले तीरनीरान्तराले
वपुरपगममेकं याचते प्रेमचन्द्रः ॥

इत्यास्तां प्रेमचन्द्रकाव्यचर्चा ।

पञ्चाननतर्करत्नपादानां काव्यनिबन्धेषु तत्कृतमूर्जस्विताख्यापनं मुख्यतो लक्षणीयमिततिः प्रकृतितो भिद्यते । कलङ्कमोचने ।

वाशिष्ठाद्यैर्द्विजबुधवरैः शोभितो भट्टपल्ली-
नामग्रामः सुरसरिदभिष्यन्दनप्रत्यगन्तः ।
आसन्नायां यमदिशि मतो यो नवद्वीपधाम्नो ।
विद्याऽऽचारस्फुरितगरिमा विश्रुतो गौडभूमौ ॥

कविवंशकीर्तने—

अल्लालभट्टमिहिरगोविन्दानन्दनामकाः ।
त्रिदेवा इव सम्भूताः सुता गणपतेस्त्रयः ॥
गोविन्दानन्दधीरोऽसावष्टाविंशतिकौमुदि ।
प्रायश्चित्तविवेकादि ग्रन्थटीकाश्च निर्ममे ॥

तत्पूर्वपुरुषमानन्दचन्द्रमुद्दिश्य नूतनवृत्तोपन्यासे ।

स सिद्धस्तार्किकश्रेष्ठः कवीन्द्रः कुलकेतनम् ॥
स रामलीलोदयनाम काव्यं चकार मातामहकीर्तिपूर्त्यै ।
प्रख्यापयन्स्तं कृतमित्यपूर्वं लोकैषणावर्जनशौर्यसाक्षि ॥

स्वपित्रोः परिचयप्रसङ्गे

वन्द्यः श्रीनन्दलालः शमनिरतमनाः स्तोत्रनिर्माणकीर्तिः ।
पतिमरणकथोपलम्भवज्रज्वलनमुखे जननी तनुं जुहाव ।
बहिरनलशरीरयोगमाध्यं सहमरणं प्रतिषेधतः प्रलभ्य ॥

आत्मपरिचये

महाकुलभवोऽप्यहं तदुचितैर्गुणैरुज्झितो
महापुरुषनन्दनोऽप्यधमभावमासेदिवान् ।

वाशिष्ठीसूनुरिति चामरमंगले विश्रुतमातामहान्वयगौरवमूचनेन कुलशुद्धिरात्मशुद्धिर्विनयमसृणोऽभिजातोचितगर्वगरिमा ततश्च स्वकीयमनन्यत्वं ख्यापितं भवति । द्वैतोक्तिरत्नमालायामद्वैतवादखण्डने गौतमावताराणां वाशिष्ठानां भट्टपल्लीकीर्तिवल्लीफुल्लकुसुमसुषमामासामुत्तरजीवने काशीनिवासिनां राखालदासन्यायरत्नपादानां चेष्टितं विशेषयद्भिरितिः स्वकीयाशयोद्घोषणेऽप्येतदेव तात्पर्यम् ।

न चैतदवितथमवान्तरमवास्तवं वा यतः श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणाख्यानव्याख्याननिपुणाः स सिद्धान्तिपंचानन इत्यापामरैरखिलैर्विषयिभिर्यतिभिश्च प्राच्यशास्त्रे लब्धव्युत्पत्तिभिः पाश्चात्यविद्याजलधौतबुद्धिभिरसमतया सममेव व्यपदिश्यते स्म । तारुण्यपरिपाके ग्रथितात् पार्थाश्वमेधमहाकाव्यात्

विवर्तमानां परिवर्तमानां प्रवर्तमानां विनिवर्तमानाम् ।
सदैव साम्येन च वर्तमानां देवात्मशक्तिं सततं भजामि ॥ १–१
असाध्यपक्षाऽपि तव प्रतिज्ञा न हीयते न्यायरतस्य चित्रम् ।
अहं पुनर्न्यायपथादपेतः सुसिद्धपक्षोऽपि बताद्य हीये ॥ १–१०
न चित्रमेतत्सति कृष्णपक्षे गाढं तमो यत् प्रकटीबभूव ।
चित्रं तु तत्रार्जुनकृष्णपक्षावनन्यभावेन समं समेतौ ॥ १–२१
ततः पदार्थैरिव तत्त्वबोधकैः स याजकैः षोडशभिः समाचितः ।
प्रमाणमुख्यैरपरान् पराभवन् बभौ मखो गौतमसूत्रतां दधत् ॥ १७–४
प्रजायते सत्त्वगुणात्प्रमोदः स्थाने तु तस्यैव तवाद्य शोकः ।
तदेव सत्यं किल शाब्दिकानां यः स्थानिवद्भाव इति प्रवादः ॥ १–४१
समस्तधातुप्रकृतिक्रियारतः कृतोपसर्गागमसन्धितद्धितः ।
बभौ गुणप्रत्ययविश्रुतोऽगदालयोत्करः पाणिनिवद् यदन्तरे ॥ ६–१७
दाक्षिणां द्विजगणा महीभुजा कामनाऽधिकमवापिता वसु ।
आदरादकथयन्नहो वसुश्राद्धमेतदिति संमितं मिथः ॥ ३–१६
सत्त्वसंभृतमनन्तमाततं रत्नपूर्णमुदकाश्रितास्थिति ।
दानसागरचतुष्टयं बभौ तत्र सागरचतुष्टयोपमम् । ३–५

मूलं कृष्णो याजको यस्य कृष्णः पत्नी कृष्णा यज्ञवाजी च कृष्णः ।
कृष्णारक्षः स ज्वलत्कृष्णवर्त्मा गौरो राजा कृष्णसारो बभूव ॥ १५-१२

इत्यादिपद्येभ्यः शास्त्रपरिपाकस्य शास्त्रान्तररहस्योक्तेश्च काव्योपादानतयाऽपरूपं सामञ्जस्यसाधनं यदभिलक्ष्य 'सर्वविद्यैकायतनं काव्य'मिति प्रेक्षावतामभिधानमन्वर्थमनुमीयते । परिणते वयसि रचिते कलङ्कमोचननाम्नि नाटके यन्नामप्रतिरूपकेण तनुजं स्वीयं मुमूर्षः स्मरन्...वसतयेऽलं कः कलङ्कक्रमः ॥

(पृ. ३)

यस्याः स्वरस्वदनलोभविसृष्टशष्पग्रासाः समेत्य परितः किल
कृष्णसाराः ।
निष्पन्दकर्णभवदाननमात्रबद्धनेत्राः स्वनामसदृशाचरणा भवन्ति ॥
(१-६)

श्रीदामोद्दामशापं सफलयितुमना राधिकाऽत्रावतीर्णा (पृ. ४)
वसन्तलक्ष्मीरिति बुद्ध्यमाना पिकावली गायति हर्षपूर्णा ।
वंशाख्यया यद्यपि माधवोऽहं ममैव सा श्रीः न तु साऽस्मि तस्याः ॥
असीयतामियं वंशी ...... (पृ. ३२) (१-९)
उद्गच्छत्करतालकङ्कणरणत्कारोच्चहास्यस्वरम्
दृष्ट्वा ताम्रमुखी सखीभिरभितो हर्षत्रपाऽलङ्कृता ।
आवर्तोद्गतवातवेगविगलच्चीनांशुकप्रच्छदा
दोलान्दोलनसंभ्रमेण चकिता वक्षो ममालिङ्गति ॥

इत्यादिपद्येषु पुराणप्रमाणतया कथावस्तुनोः काव्यमहिम्ना गुणीभूतत्वम् ।
विश्वासस्थलमुभयं स्वहृत् सुहृच्चेति विश्रुतं लोके ।
समुचितकृत्यनियोगे सुहृदेव परं विशिष्यतेऽन्यस्मात् ॥ (१-२३)
कोकिलकाकलिमिलितादलिकुलचलितादवैमि राधायाः ।
अचिरोदयमुदयाद्रेरारुणरागादिवार्कस्य ॥ (१-२१)

इत्यादौ लोकोक्तिछेकोक्त्योर्मानानुमानयोः समं सामञ्जस्यम् ।
नालीको नलिनीनाथो यदन्धो नैनमीक्षते ।
विमूढानामबोधेन तत्त्वं न परिलुप्यते ॥ (१-८)
वामार्धं परिशुद्धहेमरुचिरं दक्षार्धमम्भोधर-
श्यामं नाम मिलद्वपुः क्रमगतेरेकैकमित्यद्भुतम् ।
राधाकृष्णमयं क्षणेन विषयो दृष्टेरदृश्यं पुन-
र्वर्वर्ति स्मयते प्रनृत्यति पृथग्भावेन च क्रीडति ॥ (८-११)

इत्यादौ नित्यस्यापि वस्तुस्वाभाव्यसम्भाव्यस्य बहुधा क्षणभङ्गुरत्वादिदार्शनिकदृष्टिसृष्टिः परं चेतःप्रमोदकरमिति काव्यकौशले परा काष्ठा ।

अतीत्य च वस्तुस्वाभाव्यं स्वदेशप्रीतिस्तत्काव्ये तदनुसृते लोकवृत्ते देशहितार्थे कारावासलांछनायामपि स्वधर्माचारपरम्परामविलङ्घ्य नन्दयन्ती दृष्टान्तसिद्धेत्यादर्शतया समुट्टङ्किता । ' गतिर्भर्ता प्रभुः साक्षी निवासः शरणं सुहृत् ' इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतागीतोद्गीतभगवद्वचने परप्रमोदभूम्ना जन्मभूमेर्जगदभिन्नत्वेनानुमोदनं ' यच्चापि सर्वभूतानां बीजं तदहमर्जुनेति ' भङ्ग्यन्तरेण सर्वभूतप्रकृतेर्भगवद्विभूतितया स्थापनं च शास्त्रमाहात्म्यप्रकटनपटुभिस्तैः कविवर्यैः सूक्ष्मेक्षिकयोचितवचःप्रपञ्चेन च सुस्पष्टमवधारितम् । तस्याश्च स्वातन्त्र्यरक्षणादिलक्षणं

मङ्गलसाधनमप्युपायतयोपेयतया च परममुपासनमिति मङ्गलपदयोग्यम् । मूलतस्तु तदेवामरमङ्गलदृश्यकाव्यस्य लक्ष्यभूतम् । देशसेवामखे मुख्यपुरोधसामृषिकल्पानां वङ्किमचन्द्रचट्टोपाध्यायमहाशयानामानन्दकन्दस्वरूपाया भुवनमनोमोहिन्यास्तस्याः साधनाधन्यायाः स्वरूपनिरूपणेऽनुशासितॄणां कवीन्द्राणां रवीन्द्रनाथठकुरनाम्नां सूरिशिरोभूषणायमानानां श्रीमतामरविन्दघोषतया कृतलोकसंग्रहाणां प्रातःस्मरणीयनाम्नां कर्मयोगिनां महात्मनां गान्धिमहोदयानां सगोत्रो महाभूतसमाधिना विहितोऽसौ कविकुले नूतनाध्वप्रवर्तकश्च ।

वेदमूले कुले जातो धर्मार्थं जीवनं त्यजेत् ।
स्वजातियोग्यवेषोऽपि धर्मस्तं कथमुत्सृजेत् ॥

(अमरमङ्गलम् १–१९)

इत्यभिमन्यमानः–

जननी निगडैर्बद्धा यस्य दुर्दैवजीविनः ।

चिरं तिष्ठति साक्रन्दा । (अमरमङ्गलम् १–१४३) इति तस्यान्यचिन्ताव्यासङ्गमोहं निर्दिशन् -

यन्नामाभासमुक्त्वेति परस्थानं नराधमः ।
स्वस्थानममरैर्लेभे तद्भक्तैरिति का कथा । (सर्वमङ्गलोदयम् ९–१५)

इति श्लेषकाव्ये भङ्ग्या स्वस्थानस्य परमभव्यतां सर्वाशानिलयतया च सेव्यसीमान्तमूर्तिं व्यञ्जयन्–

अघवाननघो यथा तथा वा प्रवरोऽयं त्वदपेक्षया तु नित्यम् ।
ननु भिक्षुक देवलस्त्वमेनं क्षिपसि क्षौणिपतिं यथार्कमन्धः ॥

(अमरमङ्गलम् ३–१) इति मानसिंहसेनापतिमतिक्षिपतः

पुरोधसः–

अरे गर्भदास ।
नाहं दासानुदासो जवननरपतेर्नापि तच्छ्यालदासो
नैवाहं सारमेयः परनिलयरतो नास्मि कुक्षत्रियो वा ।
स्वाधीनां वृत्तिमश्रुपजनितसुखामेकलिङ्गप्रसादा-
देषोऽहं भूमिदेवः सुकृतिकृतिगणैः पूज्यमानाङ्घ्रिरस्मि ॥

(अमरमङ्गलम् ३–१)

इति साटोपवचः स्फूर्जितेन गर्जन्

सन्तु स्वधर्मनिरता मनुजाः समस्ताः
प्रीतिं सजातिषु भजन्तु विहाय मायाः ।
संपूजयन्तु जननीमिव जन्मभूमिम्–

(अमरमङ्गलम् ८–भरतवाक्यम्) इति . . . . .

श्रौतस्मार्तचिरन्तनाध्वनिरता भूयासुराशु द्विजा
मा भूवन्नपरैर्नरैरुपाचितद्वन्द्वाः प्रभुत्वाशया ।
स्वाराज्यं श्रुतिधर्मकर्मकृतिभिः प्राज्यं लभन्तां प्रजाः
शत्रूद्भावितजातिवैररहितं भूयादिदं भारतम् ॥

(कलङ्कमोचनम् ७ भरतवाक्यम्)

इति चाशंसन् देशसेवकमूर्धन्यो देशोद्धारव्रतधरो धन्यः समवभाति ।

अयं देशोद्धारश्चावश्यंभाविभाव इति यद्यपि प्रतिभावद्भिस्तैर्भावितपूर्वस्तथापि न तैरलसैर्निराशैर्वा स्थितम् ।

जाने वांछितमेतद्दुर्घटसिद्धिप्रमादहताचित्तैः ।
अलसैश्च निःसहायैस्तदपि निराशोऽस्मि नैवात्र ॥

इत्याशाजीविनस्तस्य प्रसङ्गेऽन्यस्मिन्नाशयस्फूर्तिः । प्रासङ्गिके प्रास्ताविके च चूर्णकनिबन्धबन्धनेऽनवद्यगद्यशुद्धस्य तस्य महती प्रतिपत्तिरासीत् । स्वरचिते सप्तशतीभाष्ये गीताभाष्ये द्वैतोक्तिरत्नमालायां शक्तिभाष्ये श्रीराजप्रशस्त्यां परःशतेषु सभाभाषणेषु विलुप्तप्रायेषु तस्य कविवाङ्निर्मितिमितानि सुभाषितान्यासन् सन्ति च । एषां पञ्चषान्यत्रोदाह्रियन्ते ।

राधावल्लभपादपल्लवयुगं संसारतापापहं
वन्दे भक्तमनोलताऽन्तमिलितं मोदैकपुष्पाश्रयम् ।
नीरन्ध्रं व्रजसुन्दरीपरिकरैर्भृङ्गैरिवासेवितं
यन्नीलाम्बुजधाम मामकशिरःस्निग्धातपत्रायते ॥

बन्धः श्लथस्तनुमनोरचनासु दृष्टिः
क्षीणा स्मृतिश्च गलिता लुलिता च भाषा ।
कम्पः करे हृदि च केवलमम्बिकायाः
कारुण्यमस्ति शरणं मम दुःस्थितस्य ॥

दुर्गाध्वना विचरतो जरतो ममालं
मन्तूयतः प्रतिपदं जगदम्बिकायाम् ।
तस्या निसर्गकरुणा यदि नावलम्बः
किं त्राणकारणमहो मम हीनशक्तेः ॥

धावन्ति धूमशकटानि चलन्ति याना-
न्याकाशवर्त्मनि तरन्त्युदधींश्च पोताः ।
श्रीशक्तिभाष्यमहमारचयामि चैवं
यन्त्राणि नाम वयमत्र परोऽस्ति यन्त्री ॥

दोषो न मे न च गुणोऽस्ति तदर्प्यमाण-
सङ्कल्पबुद्धिवचनासुबलप्रवृत्तेः ।

तत्कोविदान् सविनयं विनिवेदयामि
क्षम्योऽस्मि लङ्घितपुरातनभाष्यवादः ॥

आविर्भूय स्वयं स्वप्ने या मां शास्त्रार्थमन्वशात् ।
सा काली प्रीयतामेतन्मूकालापनलीलया ॥

सन्दृब्धरचनायामेव तस्य कविप्रतिभायाः परिपूर्तिः समजनि । नैतत्तथा स्फुटं प्रकटं यथा प्रथमयौवन एव रचिते राघवपाण्डवीयसमश्रेणिके सर्वमङ्गलोदयनाम्नि श्लिष्टकाव्ये यत्संबान्धि टीकाकृतस्तत्सूनोर्मङ्गलाचरणे वर्णनं सर्वथा समञ्जसम् ।

संहितहारिहरलीलं गङ्गायमुनाङ्गसङ्गमश्रीमत् ।
बहुलार्थदायि तीर्थं काव्यं वा जयति सार्वमङ्गलिकम् ।
(मङ्गलाचरणम् १)

श्लिष्टकाव्यसामान्यादसामान्या प्रसादविशदता वस्तुवृत्तमतिशय्य तत्त्वसत्तायां तत्परताऽवतारवर्णनप्रसङ्गे मुग्धतरवर्णनाशैलीस्निग्धता (सर्वमङ्गलोदयम् ७,७-२४) चात्र विदग्धहृदयङ्गमा । स्कन्दपुराणाद्यनुयायि दक्षयज्ञानुसङ्गि शिवरोषप्रादुर्भावादि समुद्रमन्थनोद्योगमध्यं तारकादिदृप्तदैत्यनाशान्तं च वृत्तमत्रैवापरत्र दुर्वासःशापशप्तस्येन्द्रस्य लक्ष्मीभ्रंशमूलिका दैवास्त्रविस्मरणकृतदैत्याभ्युदयान्तः समुद्रमन्थनोद्योगमध्या लक्ष्मीनारायणमेलनोपचितदेवताश्रीवृद्ध्यन्ता कथा । लक्षणीया केचन श्लोका अत्रोल्लिख्यन्ते यत्र युक्तिसूक्तिपक्षयोर्भक्तिज्ञानयोगयोः प्राचीनार्वाचीनप्रकाशशरीरस्थित्योः कुत्रापि तिलतण्डुलन्यायेनेतरत्र क्षीरनीरन्यायेन संमेलनं सुधीजनसंवेद्यम् । मङ्गलाचरणपद्ये

यदङ्गसङ्गान्महिमातिरेकं गङ्गाऽधियाता जगदेकशुद्धिः ।
समानसोदीरितवर्त्मदूरस्थितोभवो मां सविधुः पुनातु ॥
(सर्वमङ्गलोदयम् १-१)

यदतितरां सुभगांचितमुपसंहारे कृतावर्तनं

जयति जयति देवः शक्तिसंसक्तरूपो
जयति जयति भर्गो मङ्गलानाञ्च मूलम् ।
इति बहुविधशब्दाः प्रीतिमिश्रास्तदानीं
जगति विमलभावं व्यञ्जयन्तो मुमूर्छुः ॥ (९-१९)

अहह मातरचिन्त्यविलङ्घनोऽविचलधातृविधानमहत्तमः ।
च्यवनसम्भवतामधिजग्मिवान् भृगुरधो भवतीत्यपि मन्महे ॥
(२-१७)

वाहिनी च विनतेप्सितार्थदा वज्रदुर्जयगरिष्ठविक्रमा ।
वेगवेपितमनोऽनिलाभवद्भूचरी क्वचन खेचरी क्वचित् ॥
(३-१०)

स्वच्छं नभो निर्मलमम्बुजातं पूर्णः शशाङ्कः स्फुटमम्बुजातम्।
निशा दिवा चापि समानकान्ते सदास्मितान्द्रासि विमानकान्ते ॥
(४-२)

न भारतं नाकपुरं तदुद्भवो विपर्ययः किन्नु सदक्षदेवगम्।
अनिष्टमाहेति मतं वृथा तथा सदैवते कर्मभुवामिलन् मखे ॥
(५-२०)

ख्यातिप्रियस्त्वदितिसूतिपतिश्च तेन तूलीकृतः प्रकटितप्रचुरस्मयोष्मा।
प्रायो गुरोरपि भवेल्लघुताऽतितापानूमानं हि तापवति वारिणि बाष्प-
भावः ॥ (६-३२)

मीनकेतनतनुक्षयकर्माम्नायकृन्मनुकृपाऽमृतवर्षी।
एकशृङ्गमहिमाहिताचित्रस्त्वं श्रियं भव भवस्थितिहेतुः॥
(७-८)

त्रिजगतां रचनादिककर्मणा सुविदितोऽपि च कर्मविवर्जितः।
तदखिलेश्वरवृत्तिषु युज्यते न हि रतेषु कुतोऽपि पराभवः॥
(९-१२)

मुख्यतो भारताख्यानमनुसृत्य भीष्मस्वर्गारोहणादि युधिष्ठिरानुष्ठिताश्वमेध-मखपरिसमाप्तिसीम पार्थाश्वमेधं नाम वस्तुवर्णसमृद्धं महाकाव्यं परिणततरे वयसि कृतोद्योगमर्थगौरवलक्ष्यं कक्षीकुर्वतो भारवेः पदाङ्कानुसारेण समीहित परमरमणीयं प्राचीनकाव्यकल्पमेतद्दोषदर्शिनामप्युपादेयं भवितुमर्हति। सर्गान्ते नैषधचरितकर्तुः प्रणाल्या कविकृतानां ग्रन्थान्तराणामुल्लेखः। सुश्लिष्टपद्यानां केषाञ्चिदत्रोल्लेखः क्रियते यत्र कवेः स्वोन्मेषतो भुवनोपजीव्यता शक्तिपक्षाश्र-यिता सनातनार्यमार्गमर्यादाऽयत्ननिर्वर्त्यश्लेषता धर्मकर्माश्रद्धा च समं समस्त-तया चकास्ति। २-२, २-३८, २-४७, ८-२४, १४-३७, १४-५२, १६-५, १७-२३.

काव्येषु दशरूपकं श्रेय इति प्राचीनमतं तर्करत्नमहोदयानां काव्यकृतौ नितरामनुगतलक्ष्यम्। कालतः प्रतिभापरिपाकतश्चात्र काव्यभेदे परिणतप्रज्ञो हृदयावर्जक उपदेशयुक्त्या भूयस्या सोपयोगश्च क्रान्तदर्शी कविः। तत्कृतममर-मङ्गलनाटकं कति वर्षाणि वङ्गीयसंस्कृतसमितेः काव्योपाधिपरीक्षापाठ्यतालिका-यामन्तर्भुक्ततया समग्रे भारतखण्डे विद्यार्थिनामार्यसाहित्यामोदिनाञ्च सममेव परिचितम्। महाराणाप्रतापसिंहसूनोरमरसिंहस्य चरितं नाटकेऽत्र कथावस्तु। तस्य चरितोत्कर्षख्यापनाय 'अन्यथा वा प्रकल्पये'दित्यालङ्कारिकसमयमङ्गी-कृत्य तस्य व्यसनादिकं छलप्रयोगविशेषविजृम्भितमिति नाटकेऽस्मिन्नुपस्था-पितम्। शत्रुप्रयुक्तवाराङ्गनाया वीराया नायकं प्रति कुलजादुर्लभस्य प्रेम्णः समु-द्भेदेन तयैव सहायभूतया शत्रोर्मानसिंहस्योद्योगं विफलीकृत्य चितोरोद्धारका-र्यमुपन्यस्तम्। वाराणसेयविदग्धपरिषत्कृते कृतावतारं भागवतपुराणसूचितं भग-वतो राधाकृष्णयोः कैशोरलीलोपजीवि गौडमण्डले महाजनपरिगृहीतप्रक्रियं

कलङ्कमोचनं नाम भक्तिप्रेमपरिपाकं नाटकमेतदुत्तरकालोपरचितमपि न तथा सुपरिचितम् । गौडीयवैष्णवमतवादपोषणपरस्य काव्यवस्तुनो नाटकीयोपयोगे ये सन्दिहानास्ते तदिदं सावाहितमधीयतामिति सप्रश्रयोऽनुयोगः ।

द्वयोरपि रूपकयोः कुत्रापि क्रियाऽश्रयमयत्वस्वरूपलङ्घनेनाधिक्षेपातिशय्यवर्णनाप्रपञ्चादीनां मुष्टियोगानां विनियोगेन श्लेषाद्यवतारणेन चाङ्कानां दीर्घदीर्घीकृतकायभारेणासकृत् सुमनसां वैमनसमवश्यमुदेतीति यदुच्यते तत्र वैमत्यस्यावकाशो वर्तत एव । परन्तु नाटकस्य लोकशिक्षासोपानतया काव्याङ्गीभूतायाः सन्दर्भशुद्धेरविसंवादितया चित्तद्रुतिकलनया देशकालोपयोगितया चैतयोर्विशेषतोऽमरमङ्गलस्य गरीयानादरो भवितेति नासमसाहसिकयम् । समुचितनान्दीनिर्वतनं प्राकृतभाषाणां सुसमः समावेशो मात्रावृत्तानां चारणमुखेनेतरथा च गीतेषु ललितः संदर्भः प्रकृतीनां रसशास्त्रसम्मतो लोकव्यवहारानुगः सविलासो मार्गो बहुतरपरिगृहीतमतवादोपरि नायत्नसिद्धो निर्बन्धश्चात्र सुसमाधेयानि । अमरमङ्गले प्रथमतृतीयचतुर्थाङ्केषु तथा कलङ्कमोचने तृतीयपञ्चमाङ्कयोः प्रयोगचातुरी सहृदयमनोहारिणे । सुरचिताः श्लोकाश्चूर्णकसन्दर्भाः सरसगीतयश्चानुक्रममुद्दिश्यन्ते । तद्यथाऽमरमङ्गले पृः, २, ३६, ४८, ५२, ६६, २०४, २२६, २६६, ३०२, ३७५ । कलङ्कमोचने पृः २, २२, २४, २५, २७, ३५, ५६ ।

उपसंहारे चानयोः कवयित्रोर्न्यायनयनिपुणयोर्युक्त्यास्वादसामरस्यसाधनसमाहितयोरार्यरीत्या स्वप्रदेशोचितरचनारीत्या वाग्गुम्फनपरिपाटीमाहार्यसम्पदमपरिक्लिश्य 'क्लेशलेशमवधाय' सुरभारत्याः सुखोदर्कतां कालातीततांश्चानुप्रविश्य प्रमोदमनुसन्दधाना वयमाशास्महे यत् सैव प्रवाहिणी सरस्वतीवान्तःसलिलवाहिनी बलकौशलशिक्षादीक्षाविभवाऽपरिहार्यगतिरवार्यमतिश्च । न तावतस्वल्पैर्लौकिकैर्वा मुष्टियोगैर्दुराबाधव्याधिप्रतिकारो भवति । नाप्यलक्षणैस्तथाकथितैः सरलतरैरुपायैः प्राचीनसरणिं लघूकुर्वद्भिरार्यसाहित्यप्रसाधनं सम्भवति । अत्र किं नाम भारतीयानां लक्षणमिति प्रश्ने का प्रतिपत्तिर्यदि नाम दैवी वागाश्रयो न स्यात् । तदाश्रयत्यागादेवालक्षणाः साम्प्रतं भारतीया इतिकठोरकटुसिद्धान्तस्थापनं मनीषिणां नास्फालनं नाकारणम् ।

एतयोः साहित्यरससरसिकयोः साधनशय्याऽस्खलनभया निर्मर्यादिताशाप्रतीक्षापरा निःशब्दः संचरन्तु सन्तः ।

एते ते प्रोज्ज्वलस्निग्धे नवे दीपशिखे सिते ।
ध्वान्तध्वस्तविषग्रस्तलोकालोककृते हिते ॥
आश्वासवाणी पुनरियं-
मृताऽप्यमृतनिष्यन्दा
निष्पदाऽपि चतुष्पदा
अवर्णा बहुवर्णाऽपि माता गौरस्ति नः श्रिये ॥

इति शम् ।

VIVÂHA-TATTVÂRNAVA

OF ŚRĪNĀTHA-ĀCĀRYA-CŪḌĀMAṆI

(Edited for the first time)

By

SURES CHANDRA BANERJI

The name of Śrīnātha[1] is not very widely known now-a-days. But he is doubtlessly one of the important pre-Raghunandana Smṛti writers of Bengal. His importance lies not merely in his having been the teacher of Raghunandana, the great Smārta of this province, but also in the fact that to him are ascribed quite a number of original Smṛti treatises besides a good number of commentaries on certain well-known Smṛti works, particularly of Bengal. According to the endings of the names of his works, these may be conveniently classified into the following groups :—

A. *Dīpikā* group

B. *Arṇava* group

C. *Candrikā* group

D. *Viveka* group

Śrīnātha is believed to have lived sometime between the end of the fifteenth century A. D. and the beginning of the sixteenth.

That Raghunandana set much store by the views of this writer is proved by his respectful reference to him[2] as 'gurucaraṇāḥ' on many of the important and controversial topics of Smṛti.

Despite the importance of Śrīnātha's works as immediate precursors of those of Raghunandana, none of the works of the former has as yet been brought to light. We propose herein to edit, as critically as possible, the *Vivāha-tattvārṇava*, a work on marriage by Śrīnātha, and to survey its contents.

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1 For a detailed account of Śrīnātha's works and life see Manomohan Chakravati in JASB, 1915.

2 We indicate below some of the references as found in the *Smṛti-tattva* (ed. J. Vidyāsāgara) :— II. 401, 488, 640 ; I. 769, 873 [There are numerous other references).

The *Vivāha-tattvarṇava*[1] is known to exist in a single manuscript[2]. The title of this work literally means "the ocean of facts about vivāha." The work appears to have been divided into several chapters each being styled a 'taraṅga' (wave). The Ms., referred to above, contains the first chapter entitled '*Sambandha-viveka*' as it appears from the colophon. This work has been quoted by Raghunandana in his *Udvāha-tattva* (*Smṛti-tattva*, II p. 117).

We give below a brief account of the contents of this work.[3] The work starts with the extolment of the second stage of life (gārhasthya) as the most important of the four āśramas. Next is given the proper time for entering into this stage, the period following the conclusion of Vedic studies (samāvartana) being held to be the appropriate time. The entrance into the *gārhasthyāśarma* is said to be marked by one's taking a wife in accordance with the śāstric rules. Śrīnātha advocates marriage within the same caste although the text of Nārada, which he quotes in support of his view, appears to sanction inter-caste marriage by implication while holding endogamy as better.[4] On Āśvalāyana's authority Śrīnātha gives an ingenious, though undoubtedly very crude, device for testing the internal characteristics (ābhyantarīṇa-lakṣaṇa) of the bride. The device is briefly this. Eight balls have to be made of earth taken from

(1) a fertile soil
(2) a grazing field
(3) an altar
(4) a market place
(5) a lake
(6) a barren soil
(7) junction of four roads
(8) a cremation ground

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[1] No Ms. of this work has been referred to by M. Chakravarti and Kane.

[2] MS. No. 1484 belonging to Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat, Calcutta.

[3] The views of Śrīnātha on the different topics under 'Vivāha' have been set forth in S. C. Banerji: *Marriage in Old and Medieval Bengal*, Journal of the Gaṅgānātha Jhā Research Institute, Vol. V, pt. 4; Vol. VI, pt. 1. Hence we indicate here simply the different topics of vivāha dwelt on by Śrīnātha.

[4] Cf. *Sajātiḥ Śreyasī bhāryā* — the word 'śreyasī' does not preclude 'vijātīya vivāha'.

The bride is to be asked to take any of the balls she chooses. The particular ball, taken by the bride, will indicate particular characteristics. For example, the first ball will forebode that the bride will be endowed with wealth and paddy (dhana-dhānya-vatī); the second will indicate the possession by her of beasts (paśumatī) and so on. Śrīnātha then dwells upon the requisite qualifications of the bride. Then follow certain rules regarding the exclusion of those brides who fall within the prohibited degrees of relationship, the prohibited degrees being determined at considerable length and the terms *sapiṇḍa*, *samānodaka* and *bāndhava* etc. defined on various authorities. Incidentally is discussed the question of the *gotra* and *pravara* of the members of the non-brahmin castes particularly of the Śūdras. The discussion on the relations prohibited or permitted in marriage leads us to the end of the work.

Description of the Manuscript.

Size.— About 12″×4″

Folios.— 7.

Characters.— Bengali.

Beginning.— ॐ नमो गणेशाय । प्रणम्य गोविन्दपदारविन्दम् etc.

End.— अतिदिष्टत्वेन मुख्यमातुलतो जघन्यत्वाच्चेति सर्वं सुस्थम ।

Colophon.—इति महामहोपाध्यायश्रीमत्श्रीनाथाचार्यचूडामणिविरचिते विवाह-तत्त्वार्णवे सम्बन्धविवेकः प्रथमस्तरङ्गः ।

Post-colophon.— श्रीरामचरणदेवशर्मणः पुस्तकमिदं स्वाक्षरं च । श्रीरामः शरणम् । श्रीमदिष्टदेवतायै नमः । तारापदसरोरुहे मम मनो मत्ताभ्रं(?) नन्दतु ॥

(The single Ms., on which the present edition is based, though fairly correct, contains certain corrupt readings. Wherever the correct reading is obvious it has been given in the body of the text. Where the Ms. readings are irretrievably corrupt these have been omitted instead of hazarding conjectures, the omissions being indicated by dotted lines).

विवाहतत्त्वार्णवे

संबन्धविवेकः

(प्रथमस्तरङ्गः)

प्रणम्य गोविन्दपदारविन्दं विचार्य नानामुनिवर्यवाचः।
आचार्यचूडामणिरेष यत्नाद्विवाहतत्त्वार्णवमातनोति ॥

इह मन्वादिसकलसंहितास्वाश्रमचतुष्टयं ब्रह्मचर्यगार्हस्थ्यवनवाससंन्यासात्मकं ब्राह्मणस्य निःश्रेयसहेतुरित्युक्तम्। तत्रेतराश्रमापेक्षया गार्हस्थ्यं श्रेष्ठं यथा मनुः—

यस्मात् त्रयोऽप्याश्रमिणो ज्ञानेनान्नेन चान्वहम्।
गृहस्थैरेव धार्यन्ते तस्मात् श्रेष्ठाश्रमो गृही ॥[1]

तथा—

सर्वेषामपि चैतेषां वेदस्मृतिविधानतः।
गृहस्थ उच्यते श्रेष्ठः स त्रीनेतान् बिभर्ति हि ॥[2]

आदिपुराणे—

पितरः सर्वकालेषु तिथिकाले च देवताः।
सर्वे गृहस्थमायान्ति निपानमिव धेनवः ॥

तस्यावसरमाह ब्रह्मचर्यमभिधाय संवर्तः। एष धर्मः प्रथमाश्रमिणि द्विजे।

अतःपरं समावृत्तः कुर्याद्दारपरिग्रहम्।

समावृत्तो गुरुकुलादेत्य कृतस्नानाख्यसंस्कारः। तथा मनुरपि—

वेदानधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदं वापि यथाक्रमम्—
अविप्लुतब्रह्मचर्यो गृहस्थाश्रममाविशेत् ॥[3]

इत्याद्यभिधाय गृहस्थाश्रमः क इत्याकाङ्क्षायाम्-

गुरुणानुमतः स्नातः समावृत्तो यथाविधि।
उद्वहेत द्विजो भार्यां सवर्णां लक्षणान्विताम् ॥[4]

इत्यभिदधत् पाणिग्रहणरूपदारपरिग्रहो गार्हस्थ्यमिति व्यक्तमाह। एतेनाविप्लुतब्रह्मचर्यस्य कृतवेदाध्ययनसमावर्तनसंस्कारस्य यथाविधि दारपरिग्रहेऽधिकारः प्रतीयते। वेदानित्यादिविकल्पः पुरुषशक्त्यपेक्षया वेदितव्यः। यथाक्रममिति शास्त्रोक्ताध्ययनपौर्वापर्यानुसारेणेत्यर्थः। अविप्लुतं सम्यक् समापितं ब्रह्मचर्यं येन तथाविधो वेदानधीत्येत्यर्थः। एतेन गार्हस्थ्ये कृतब्रह्मचर्यकृतवेदाध्ययनस्याधिकारः। तत्र ब्रह्मचर्यस्य स्वातन्त्र्येणाश्रितत्व-श्रुतेरङ्गत्वानुपपत्तेः।

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[1] Manu, III. 78, N. S. P. ed.

[2] Manu, VI. 89. l. 8 – MS. corrupt for चैतेषाम् l. 9 त्रीनेतान् – MS. corrupt.

[3] Manu, III. 2.

[4] Manu, III. 4.

.... एवाधिकारिविशेषणमङ्गं गार्हस्थस्य । अत एव--

वेदानधीत्य वेदौ वा वेदं वापि यथाक्रमम् ।
अविशीर्णब्रह्मचर्यो दारान् कुर्वीत धर्मतः ॥*

इति यमवचनं व्याचक्षमाणो रत्नाकरः[1] । एवं च विशीर्णब्रह्मचर्यस्याकृतप्रायश्चित्तस्य उत्तरस्मिन् आश्रमेऽनधिकार इति द्योतितवान् । अन्यथा विशेषणवैयर्थ्यात् । वस्तुतस्तु आश्रमचतुष्टयस्यैव स्वातंत्र्येणाङ्गित्वं मन्वादौ फलश्रुतेः । अतोऽविप्लुतब्रह्मचर्यं न विशेषणं किन्त्वधिष्ठानलक्षणयात्र ब्रह्मचर्याधिकारिपुरुषमात्रोपलक्षणम् । उपांशुयागमन्तरा यजतीतिवत् । ततो ब्रह्मचर्यविप्लवे गार्हस्थ्यमविगुणमेव पुरुष एव प्रत्यवायी भवति । ब्रह्मचर्यस्यातदर्थत्वादिति उद्वहेत पाणिग्रहणं कुर्यादित्यर्थः । भार्यामिति भाविनि भूतवदुपचारः, विवाहानन्तरमेव भार्यात्वनिष्पत्तेः । सवर्णां समानजातीयामित्यर्थः । अत एव नारदः--

ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शूद्राणां च परिग्रहे ।
सजातिः श्रेयसी भार्या सजातिश्च पतिः स्त्रियाः ॥

लक्षणान्वितामिति बाह्याभ्यन्तरीणशुभसूचकलक्षणयुक्तामित्यर्थः । तत्राभ्यन्तरीणलक्षणानि आश्वलायनाद्युक्तविधिना ज्ञेयानि । यथा आश्वलायनः--

दुर्विज्ञेयानि लक्षणानि अष्टौ पिण्डान् कृत्वा ऋतमग्रेश्च प्रथमं ऋतं सत्ये प्रतिष्ठितम् । यदियं कुमार्यभिजाता तदियमिह प्रतिपद्यतां यत् यत सत्यं तत दृश्यतामिति पिण्डानामन्त्र्य कुमारीं ब्रूयात्--एषां पिण्डानां गृहाणेति । उर्वराक्षेत्रगोष्ठवेदिकाविक्रयस्थानह्रदइरिणक्षेत्रचतुष्पथश्मशानेषु मृत्तिकां गृहीत्वा पिण्डादिकं कुर्यात । ततोऽनुक्रमेण संस्थाप्य प्रागुक्तमन्त्रेण तानभिमन्त्र्य कुमारीं ब्रूयात्--एषां पिण्डानां गृहाणेति । ततस्तया प्रथमे गृहीते धनधान्यवती, द्वितीये पशुमती, तृतीयेऽग्निशुश्रूषापरा, चतुर्थे विवेकवती चतुरा सर्वजनपरा, पञ्चमे[2] ... ... , षष्ठे वन्ध्या, सप्तमे व्यभिचारिणी, अष्टमे विधवा, इत्यादिरूपाणि, बाह्यानि तु मन्वाद्युक्तानि बहुशो वक्ष्यन्ते । तथा याज्ञवल्क्यः--

अविप्लुतब्रह्मचर्यो लक्षण्यां स्त्रियमुद्वहेत् ।
अनन्यपूर्विकां कान्तामसपिण्डां यवीयसीम् ॥
अरोगिणीं भ्रातृमतीमसमानार्षगोत्रजाम् ।
सप्तमात् पञ्चमादूर्ध्वं मातृतः पितृतस्तथा ॥

स्त्रियमिति नपुंसकव्यावृत्तय इति रत्नाकरः । वस्तुतस्तु स्त्रीत्वेन परीक्षितामित्यर्थः । अनन्यपूर्विकां दानेनोपयोगेन वा पुरुषान्तरपरिगृहीताम् । कान्तां वोढुर्मनश्चक्षुषोरानन्दकरीं, यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोर्निबन्धस्तस्यां ऋद्धिरित्यापस्तम्बस्मरणात् । असपिण्डामिति अत्र मिताक्षराकारः--समान एकः पिण्डो देहो यस्याः सा सपिण्डा, न सपिण्डा असपिण्डा । सपिण्डता च एकशरीरावयवा तथा हि पुत्रस्य पितृशरीरावयवान्वयेन पित्रा सह एवं मातामहादिभिरपि पितृद्वारा तच्छरीरावयवान्वयात् । एवं मातृशरीरावयवान्वयेन मात्रा

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[1] रत्नाकर -- MS. रत्नार.

[2] The portion of the MS. bet. पञ्चमे and षष्ठे is corrupt.

सह । तथा मातामहादिभिरपि मातृद्वारा एवं मातृस्वसृमातुला(?)दिभिरपि एकशरीरान्वयात । पितृव्यपितृस्वस्रादिभिरपि तथा पत्न्या सह पत्युरेकशरीरारम्भकतया एवं भ्रातृभार्यादीनामपि परस्परमेकशरीरारम्भकत्वेनैव । एवं यत्र सपिण्डशब्दस्तत्र सर्वत्रैव साक्षात् परम्परया वा एकशरीरावयवान्वयो वेदितव्यः । न चैवं मातृस्वस्रादीनामपि "दशाहं शावमाशौचं सपिण्डेषु विधीयते" इति विशेषाभावात् दशाहाशौचप्रसङ्गः । यतो भवेदेवं यदि तत्र तत्र विशेषवचनानि स्युस्तदा अवश्यं चैकशरीरान्वयेन सपिण्डत्वं वाच्यं[1] ...आत्मन इति श्रुतेः। तथा प्रजामनुप्रजायस इति च । तथा स एवायं निरूढः पृथक् पृथक् प्रत्यक्षेणोपलक्षते इत्यापस्तम्बवचनाच्च । तथा गर्भोपनिषदि च—एतच्च षाट्कायिकं शरीरं त्रीणि पितृतः, अस्थिस्नायुमज्जानः पितृतः, त्वङ्मांसरुधिराणि मातृत इत्यादिना तत्रावयवान्वयप्रतिपादनात । निर्वाप्य पिण्डान्वयेन सापिण्ड्ये तु मातृसन्ताने पितृव्यादिषु सपिण्डता न स्यात् समुदायवृत्तिरूढिस्वीकारे चावयवशक्तिस्तत्र तत्रानुभूयमाना परित्यक्ता स्यात । परम्परा शरीरावान्वयेन[2] ... ... यथा नातिप्रसङ्गस्तथा वक्ष्यत इति रत्नाकरादयोऽप्येवमिति तच्चिन्त्यं पिण्डशब्दस्य शरीरवाचकत्वे मानाभावात् । गर्भोपनिषदादिभिस्तु तत्र तत्रावयवान्वयमात्रं न तु सपिण्डत्वमपि किं च एवं सपिण्डत्वे श्वशुरस्याप्येकस्य पुत्रशरीरस्य परम्परयारम्भतया सापिण्डत्वप्रसङ्गः न केवलं श्वशुरस्य तत्पत्न्यास्तथा तस्या मातृपक्षपितृपक्षादीनामपि सपिण्डत्वप्रसङ्गः न चेष्टापत्तिः केनापि क्वापि तत्र सपिण्डव्यवहारानङ्गीकारात् । किं च एवमतिप्रसङ्गस्य पञ्चमात् सप्तमादूर्ध्वं मातृतः[3] पितृतस्तथेत्यनेन निरासे तेनैव सिद्धावसपिण्डामित्यस्य वैयर्थ्यापत्तिः । यदपि निर्वाप्यपिण्डसम्बन्धेन सापिण्ड्यमातृसन्ताने मातृपितृव्यादीनां सपिण्डत्वाभाव इति तदपि न सुन्दरं सिद्धसाधनात् । अत एव मनुना असपिण्डा च या मातुरित्यनेन मातृसपिण्डतयैव तेषामुपादानं कृतमिति । वस्तुतस्तु असावेष ते पिण्ड इत्यनेकमुनिवचने निर्वाप्ये सपिण्डपदप्रयोगात् समान एकः पिण्डो यस्येत्यवयवशक्त्या एकपिण्डसम्बन्धवानेव सपिण्डः सम्बन्धित्वं च क्वचिद्भोक्तृतया क्वचिद्दातृतया तत्र पितृपितामहप्रपितामहाः पिण्डभोक्तारः वृद्धप्रपितामहायाश्च त्रयो लेपभागिनः, सप्तमस्तु पिण्डदातेति साप्तपौरुषी सपिण्डता । अत एव मनुः—

सपिण्डता तु पुरुषे सप्तमे विनिवर्तते ।
समानोदकभावस्तु जन्मनाम्नोरवेदने ॥

सप्तमे सति अष्टमे विनिवर्तते इत्यर्थः । यद्वा पिण्डदातारं विहायोपरि सप्तमे विनिवर्तत इत्यर्थः । समानोदकभावः अस्माकममुकस्मात् पूर्वपुरुषात् प्रवृत्ते वंशे अयं जात इति जन्मनाम्नोर्ज्ञानं यावद्भवति तिष्ठति तदज्ञाने स तु निवर्तते तदवधि सगोत्रतामातावदेवमिति हृदयम् । एषा च साप्तपौरुषी सपिण्डता सगोत्र एव असगोत्रे तु पिण्डसंबन्धेऽपि न सपिण्डतेत्याहतुः शङ्खलिखितौ । तथा

1 The portion bet. वाच्यं and आत्मन is corrupt.

2 The portion bet. °न्वयेन and यथा is corrupt. On this portion the marginal gloss is श्वशुरादौ.

3 On मातृतः etc. the marginal gloss is मातृतः मातृसन्ताने पितृतः पितृसन्ताने इति मिताक्षरा.

सपिण्डता तु सर्वेषां गोत्रतः साप्तपौरुषी ।

इति गोत्रत इति तृतीयार्थे तसिः । गोत्रेण प्रतियोगिमात्रेण विशिष्टा साप्तपौरुषीत्यर्थः । अदत्तानां कन्यानां तु त्रिपौरुषी सपिण्डतेत्याह वशिष्ठः सापिण्ड्यं साप्तपौरुषं विज्ञाते अप्रत्तानां स्त्रीणां त्रैपुरुषमिति । कन्यायाः पितृपितामहप्रपितामहपर्यन्तमित्यर्थः । स्वपुत्रद्वारा तैः सह पिण्डसम्बन्धादिति भावः । अतः कन्यायाः पुत्रादिभिः तया च दत्तया सहागोत्रत्वात् । पित्रादीनां सपिण्डता निवर्तत[1]... ... अत एव मनुवचनं स्त्रीत्र्यवच्छेदाय व्यक्तमाहादिपुराणे-

सर्वेषामेव वर्णानां विज्ञेया साप्तपौरुषी ।
सपिण्डता ततः पश्चात् समानोदकधर्मता ॥

ततः कालवशात्तत्र विसृजेज्जन्मनामभिः ।
समानोदकसंज्ञापि तावन्मात्रा विनश्यति ॥

आत्मा पिता तत पिता च आत्मनः प्रपितामहः ।
तस्यापि यः पिता कश्चित्तथैव प्रपितामहः ॥

प्रपितामहसंज्ञस्य यः कश्चित् प्रपितामहः ।
ऊर्ध्वं गणनया चाद्यः सर्वेषां प्रपितामहः ॥

पितामहो द्वितीयस्तु तृतीयश्च पिता भवेत् ।
सोदर्येण समं भ्राता स्यादात्मा च चतुर्थकः ॥

सवर्णायास्तया पुत्रः पञ्चमः परिकीर्तितः ।
षष्ठः पौत्रः सप्तमस्तु प्रपौत्र इति निश्चयः ॥

एवं मृतानामेतेषां सजीवस्तु प्रपौत्रकः ।
अविभक्तधनास्त्वेते सपिण्डाः परिकीर्तिताः ॥

अत्र सामान्यतः साप्तपौरुषी सपिण्डतामुक्त्वा आत्मपितेत्यादिना तस्या एव विशेषतो विवरणम् । तस्यापीति प्रपितामहस्येत्यर्थः । ऊर्ध्वमित्यादि एतत प्रागुक्तमधस्तनपुरुषमारभ्य गणनायां यद्युपरितनपुरुषमारभ्य गण्यते तदा प्रकृतः प्रपितामहः प्रपितामहस्य प्रपितामह इति यावत् । स एवाद्यः सपिण्डानामादिभूत इत्यर्थः । एवं प्रपितामह इत्यत्र पितेत्यत्रापि संबन्धितया प्रपितामहस्यैवान्वयः । सोदर्येणेति समानजातीयस्त्रीजातेन वैमात्रेयेणापि तथा पितृव्यादिजातेन च सहितः स्वयं चतुर्थः । तस्यैव सवर्णायाः पुत्रः पञ्चमः पौत्रः षष्ठः प्रपौत्रः सप्तमः[2] ... ... प्रपौत्रो मध्यमस्य सप्तम अधस्तन इति यावत् । मृतानामुपरितनानां सर्वेषामेव सपिण्डा इत्यर्थः । अविभक्तधना इति अप्यत्राध्याहर्तव्यः विभक्तधना अपीत्यर्थः । इत्थं च गोत्रैक्ये सति एकपिण्डसंबन्धाः परस्परं सपिण्डा इति सकलमुनिवाक्यैकवाक्यतया पर्यवसितम् । अत्र चायं निर्गलितार्थः— यदा यस्मात् सन्तानभेदः तमादाय तत्सप्तमपुरुषान्तरीणाः परस्परं सपिण्डाः तत्पिण्डेन सह सर्वेषां दातृतया संबन्धात सर्वेषामेवैकपिण्डसम्बन्धित्वमिति । अयं पक्षो विश्वरूपगोवि-

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[1] The portion bet. निवर्तते and अतएव is corrupt.

[2] The portion bet. सप्तम and प्रपौत्र is corrupt.

न्द्रराजमेधातिथिकुल्लूकभट्टशूलपाणिप्रभृतिभिः स्वीकृतो धीमद्भिरादरणीयः । इत्यस्तु विस्तरः प्रकृतमनुसरामः । अत्रासपिण्डामिति-

असपिण्डा च या मातुरसगोत्रा च या पितुः

इति मनुवचनात् उभयत्र चकारान्मातुरसगोत्रापि पितुरसपिण्डापि ग्राह्या । अत एव गोभिलः-

सा चासगोत्रा मातुरसपिण्डा चेति यवीयसी वयसा परिमाणतश्च न्यूनां उद्वहेत स्वगृह्योक्तविधिना परिणयेदित्यर्थः । अरोगिणीं आचिकित्स्यरोगरहितां भ्रातृमतीं पुत्रिकाशंकानिवृत्तये । अत एव मनुः-

यस्यास्तु न भवेद् भ्राता न विज्ञायते वै पिता ।
नोपयच्छेत्तु तां प्राज्ञः पुत्रिकाधर्मशङ्कया ॥

एतेन यदि केनापि प्रकारेण सा शङ्का निवर्तते तदाऽभ्रातृकामपि परिणयेदित्युक्तं भवति । असमानार्षगोत्रजां ऋषेरिदमार्षं प्रवर इत्यर्थः । गोत्रं वंशपरंपरादिभूतं आर्षं च गोत्रं च आर्षगोत्रं समानं आर्षगोत्रो यस्य स समानार्षगोत्रः तस्माज्जाता या न भवति तामित्यर्थः । गोत्रप्रवरौ च पृथक् पृथक् पर्युदासनिमित्ते तेनासमानगोत्रजामसमानप्रवरां चोद्वहेदित्यर्थः । अत एव समानप्रवरैर्न विवाह इति गोतमः । तथा असगोत्रा च या पितुरिति मनुरपि । अत एव

परिणीय सगोत्रां तु समानप्रवरां तथा

इति प्रायश्चित्तविधौ तथा शब्दात् प्रत्येकावगतिरिति । मातृसगोत्रायां तु विशेषमाह-

सगोत्रां मातुरप्येके नेच्छन्त्युद्वाहकर्मणि ।
जन्मनाम्नोरविज्ञानेऽप्युद्वहेदविशङ्कितः ॥

इति । ननु सपिण्डस्य सगोत्रत्वव्याप्यत्वेनासगोत्रजामित्यनेनैव सपिण्डाया निषेधे सिद्धे पूर्ववचनेऽसपिण्डामित्यस्य वैयर्थ्यम् । अत्र मिताक्षराकारः-असपिण्डामित्यनेन मातृस्वसृपितृस्वसृ मातुलसुतानां निषेधः असगोत्रामित्यनेन च असपिण्डाया अपि असगोत्राया निषेधः असमानप्रवरामित्यनेनापि असपिण्डाया असगोत्रायाश्च समानप्रवराया निषेधः यथा वात्स्यसावर्णिगोत्रयोरौर्वच्यवनभार्गवजामदग्न्याप्नुवत्प्रवरत्वेऽपि न समानगोत्रा चेति असमानार्षामित्यनेनैवासगोत्रानिषेधे सिद्धे असगोत्रामिति एकगोत्रत्वे आर्षभेदान्निषेधार्थः। तथा हि घृतकौशिकगोत्रस्य कुशिककौशिकघृतशौशिकाः कुशिककौशिकबन्धुलाश्चेति । अतोऽसपिण्डामिति सार्ववर्णिकं सर्वेषामेवोक्तरूपसपिण्डत्वसम्भवात् असमानार्षगोत्रजामिति तु त्रैवर्णिकपरं शूद्रस्य गोत्रासम्भवात् । यद्यपि राजन्यविशां प्रातिस्विकगोत्राभावात् प्रवराभावस्तथापि तेषां पुरोहितगोत्रप्रवरौ वेदितव्यौ । तथा च—यजमानस्यार्षेयान् प्रवृणीत इत्युक्त्वा पौरोहित्यान राजन्यविशां इत्याश्वलायन इति तच्चिन्त्यं पितृस्वसृमातृस्वसृमातुलसुतादीनां सपिण्डत्वस्य पूर्वं दूषितत्वात किं च याज्ञवल्क्यवचनं " असपिण्डां यवयवीसीं " तथा समानार्षगोत्रजामिति कर्मणा क्रिया... ... तयोश्चोद्वहेदविलुप्तब्रह्मचर्यं ...... । तथा चासपिण्डामिति कथं सार्ववर्णिकं तस्मादुभयोरपि त्रैवर्णिकपरत्वमेव । शूद्राणां तु स्वतो गोत्राभावे आदिपुरुषाश्रितवर्णगोत्रप्रवरावेव गोत्रप्रवराविति । अन्यथा श्राद्धादौ गोत्राद्युल्लेखे गत्यभावात् परिणयविधिनिषेधावपि यद्यपि श्रृङ्गग्राहितया न श्रूयते तथाप्याश्रयीभूतवर्णतुल्यौ कल्पेते अतएवागमशास्त्रे यं वर्णमाश्रितो यश्च शूद्रः '

स[1]……… विहितमिति शूद्राणामाश्रयीभूतवर्णस्त्रीजपसंख्यातिदिष्टेति किं च शूद्राणां गोत्राभावे सपिण्डताप्यसम्भाविनी

सपिण्डता तु सर्वेषां गोत्रतः साप्तपौरुषी।

इति प्रागुक्तशङ्खलिखितवचनात्। सापिण्ड्यस्य सगोत्रत्वस्याप्यत्वावगतेरिति इदं तु तत्त्वं -असमानगोत्रजामित्यनेन सपिण्डासपिण्डसाधारण्याः सगोत्राया एव निषेधः। असपिण्डामिति तु पित्रोः सपिण्डायाः[2] तस्या निषेधः एतेन पितृमातृसपिण्डाया आसीत्। तस्या दत्ताया भिन्नगोत्रत्वेऽपि तत्सपिण्डां सप्तमपुरुषाभ्यन्तरीणां वर्जयेदित्यर्थः— सिद्धो भवति यथा तादृशकन्ययोरधस्तन्याः सप्तमीपर्यन्तायाः सपिण्डाया वर्ज्यत्वं तथा तद्भर्तारमारभ्य उपरितनसप्तमपुरुषपर्यन्ताया अपि असपिण्डाया वर्ज्यत्वमेव सापिण्ड्याविशेषात् सप्तमस्य चिरातीतत्वेऽपि तत्सन्तानसपिण्डस्य निषेधे तात्पर्यम्। अत एव श्यालकदुहितुः पितृस्वसृपतिना श्याल्या भगिनीपतिना श्यालिकन्याया मातृस्वसृपतिना परिणयनं निषिद्धं वरस्य कन्या पितृमातृसपिण्डासपिण्डत्वात्। एवमात्ममातृस्वसृसुता आत्मपितृस्वसृसुता आत्ममातुलसुतानामपि आत्मबन्धूनां परिणयनं न मातृ पितृसापिण्ड। सपिण्डत्वात् मातुलसुताया मातृसगोत्रत्वाच्चेति मातृसपिण्डस्य पञ्चमपर्यन्तस्यैव वर्जनमित्याह विष्णुः—

न सगोत्रां न समानप्रवरां भार्यां विन्दते मातृतस्त्वापञ्चमात् पितृतस्त्वासप्तमादिति तथा पैठीनसिः, "पञ्च मातृतः परिहरेत् सप्त पितृतः त्रीन् मातृतः पञ्च पितृतो वा"। त्रीन् पञ्चेति तु आसुरादिनिन्दितविवाहविषयं क्षत्रियविषयं चेति टीकाकृतः।

तथा मार्कण्डेयपुराणे—

उद्वहेत पितृमात्रोस्तु सप्तमीं पञ्चमीं तथेति त्यक्त्वेति शेषः। पितृमातृसम्बन्धेन सप्तमीं पञ्चमीं स्वापेक्ष्यतया तत्पर्यन्तं सपिण्डासपिण्डमित्यर्थः। वृद्धप्रपितामहपर्यन्तस्यैव पिण्डसम्बधात् पितृपक्षे तु पिण्डलेपसम्बन्धापेक्षया सप्तस्वेव सापिण्ड्यमित्यर्थः। एषु वचनेषु मातृपितृशब्दाभ्यां पितृमातृसपिण्डानां पितृमातृबन्धूनां ग्रहणं सप्तमीपञ्चमीपदाभ्यामपि सपिण्डा यथासंख्यं सप्तमपञ्चमपुरुषाभ्यन्तरीणा सगोत्रा च लक्ष्यते। इत्थं च पितृमातृसपिण्डासापिण्डां पितृमातृबन्धुसप्तमपञ्चमाभ्यन्तरीणसगोत्रां च त्यक्त्वा विवहेदिति निर्गलितार्थः। यथा विष्णुपुराणम्—

सप्तमीं पितृपक्षाच्च मातृपक्षाच्च पञ्चमीम्।
उद्वहेत द्विजो भार्यां न्यायेन विधिना[3] नृप॥

अत्र पक्षशब्दस्य सपिण्डबन्धुग्रहणार्थत्वात् पितुरुपर्यधः सप्तमपुरुषाणामूर्द्धं विवाहः मातामहसपिण्डानां चोपर्यधः पञ्चमपुरुषादूर्ध्वं विवाह तन्मध्ये न कार्यः पुरुषस्य पुरुषान्तरेण विवाहाप्रसक्तेः सगोत्रत्वेन तदूर्द्धमपि निषेधस्य प्रामाणिकत्वेन प्रागुक्तरीत्या सप्तमपञ्चमाभ्यन्तरीणन्यायाः सप्तमीपञ्चम्योर्निषेधे वचनस्य तात्पर्यमिति। अत एव मातृबन्धुपितृबन्धूनामपि पञ्चमीसप्तम्योर्वर्जनमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

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[1] The portion bet. स and विहित is corrupt.

[2] सपिण्डायाः after पित्रोः is repeated twice in the MS.

[3] For विधिना the MS. reads विना.

सप्तमात् पञ्चमादूर्ध्वं

इत्यादौ मातृतो मातृबन्धुतः पितृतो पितृबन्धुत इत्यर्थः । अन्यथासपिण्डामित्यनेनैव पौनरुक्त्यापत्तेः ।

न समानप्रवरैर्विवाह ऊर्ध्वं सप्तमात् पितृबन्धुभ्यो बीजिनश्च मातृबन्धुभ्यः पञ्चमादिति गोतमवचनात् बीजिन इति परस्त्रार्यासु बीजप्रक्षेपकस्याप्येवमित्यर्थः ।

आसप्तमात् पञ्चमाच्च बन्धुभ्यः पितृमातृतः

इति नारदवचनाच्च । एतच्च सगोत्ररूपसप्तमपञ्चमपरत्वम् । पितृपक्षादित्यादिवचनं पक्षपदपरिगृहीते पितृमात्रपेक्षया सगोत्रपरत्वेऽन्यत्रापि तथैव न्याय्यत्वादिति । मातृबान्धवाश्च

मातुर्मातुः स्वसुः पुत्रा मातुः पितुः स्वसुः सुताः ।

मातुर्मातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेया मातृबान्धवाः ॥

तथा पितृबान्धवोऽपि

पितुः पितुः स्वसुः पुत्राः पितुर्मातुः स्वसुः सुताः ।

पितुर्मातुलपुत्राश्च विज्ञेयाः पितृबान्धवाः ॥

इत्यनेनोक्ताः । अत्र सुता इति पुत्रा इति चोपादानं तत् कन्याया मातृबन्धुत्वाभावसूचकम् । पञ्चमादित्यादावपि पुंस्त्वं विवक्षितं विवाहस्य सामान्यतः प्राप्तत्वेन पञ्चमसप्तमोर्ध्वत्वस्यैव विधेयतया तद्विशेषणत्वादिति । तेन मातृबन्धोः सकाशात् उपरितनपञ्चमादधस्तनपञ्चमाच्च पुंस ऊर्ध्वं या कन्या सा परिणेया तथा कन्याया अपि तथाभूतेन वरेण परिणयनमिति । एवं पितृबन्धुतोऽपि सप्तमादिति बोद्धव्यम् । यद्यपि तावत्कालं प्रतियोगिनः कन्यायाश्चावस्था न सम्भवति तथापि मातृबन्धुत उपरि पञ्चमस्य पञ्चमाभ्यन्तरीणकन्यायाः तथा पितृबन्धोरपि तथाभूतसप्तमाभ्यन्तरीणायाः तथाऽन्या अपि प्रथमाया नाऽवस्थानसम्भवे तन्निषेधे तात्पर्यमिति प्रागुक्तमार्कण्डेयपुराणवचनेन च पञ्चमीमित्यभिधानस्य तात्पर्यमेतदेव तस्याश्चतुर्थादूर्ध्वत्वेन पञ्चमादूर्ध्वत्वाभावादवर्ज्यमिति । केचित्तु मातृपितृबन्धोरिव प्रतियोगिनोरपि उपरितनाधस्तनपञ्चमसप्तमाभ्यन्तरीणानां मातृबन्ध्वादेस्तथाविध सपिण्डैः परस्परं न परिणयनमित्याहुः तच्चिन्त्यं मानाभावात् किं च यदि चात्मनो मातृबन्धुसपिण्डस्य पञ्चमस्यैव कन्या वर्ज्या तत् कथमतिव्यवहितवृद्धप्रपितामहादिमातृपितृबन्धोरपि पञ्चमसप्तमयोर्निषेधउपपद्यतां अतो यत् प्रतियोगिको यः पितृमातृबन्धुस्तस्यैव तत्सन्तत्या परिणयननिषेधो न तु तदुपर्यधस्तनसपिण्डस्य मातृबन्ध्वादिसपिण्डसन्तत्यापीति साधीय इति । इत्थं च उक्तरूपवर्ज्यकन्या[1] .. मातृबन्धुसपिण्डता न मातृबन्धुसपिण्डत्वमिति सा परिणेयैव त्रिकन्यकत्वे[2] ... त्रिगोत्रात् परत्वं चेत्यादि प्रवादानामप्येतदेव मूलमिति । एवं मातुः पितृस्वसृमातुलदौहित्रीणामपि वर्णनं ज्ञेयं तन्मातॄणां तु यद्यपि स्त्रीत्वेन न बन्धुता तथापि तासां भ्रातॄणां मातृबन्धुत्वेन तदुपरितनपञ्चमान्तःपातिनस्तत्पितुः पञ्चमाभ्यन्तरीणतया मातुःस्वसृसुतताया मातृसपिण्डा प्रथमापत्यतया च वर्जनमिति ध्येयम् । तथा मातुर्मातृस्वसापि यद्यपि न मातृसपिण्डा

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[1] The portion bet. कन्या and मातृ is corrupt.

[2] The portion bet. त्रिकन्यकत्वे and त्रिगोत्रात् is corrupt.

तथापि मातृमातुलसुतस्य मातृबन्धोरुपरितनतृतीयपुरुषस्य प्रथमसन्ततित्वाद्वर्ज्येति। पितृबन्धुपक्षे तु यद्यप्युक्तन्यायेन पितुः पितुः स्वसुर्दौहित्र्या सह न कोऽपि सम्बन्धः तथापि तादृश्याः कन्याया मातुर्मातुलपुत्रस्य पुत्रो वर इति मातृबन्धुसन्ततितया निषेधः। एवं पितुर्मातृस्वसृदौहित्र्यापि मातुर्मातुःस्वसृपुत्रो वर इति तथापि मातुर्मातुलदौहित्र्यापि मातुः पितुः स्वसुः पुत्रसुतो वर इति निषेधविषयत्वमेव तादृशदौहित्रीणां तु कन्या प्रागुक्तवरस्य न निषिद्धा उक्तयुक्तेरिति। अत्र यद्यप्यसपिण्डां यवीयसीं तथा असपिण्डा च या पितुः, तथा अरोगिणीं भ्रातृमतीमित्यादिना वरप्रतियोगिकसपिण्डादिकन्याया एव निषेधोऽवगम्यते तथापि कन्याया अपि सपिण्डत्वादिगुणानुक्त्वा

एतैरेव गुणैर्युक्तः सवर्णः श्रोत्रियोवरः।

इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचनात्। प्रतियोगीभूतसपिण्डसन्तत्यादिरूपेण वरेण परिणयनं...एवं मातृसपत्नीभ्रातृसन्ततितद्भगिन्यादीनामविवाह्यत्वमाह सुमन्तुः "पितृमातृसम्बन्धा आसप्तमादविवाह्याः कन्यका भवन्ति आपञ्चमादन्येषां पितृपत्न्यः सर्वा मातरस्तद्भ्रातरो मातुलास्तद्दुहितरो भगिन्यस्तदपत्यानि भागिनेयानि अन्यथा सङ्करकारिण्यस्तथाध्यापयितुरेतदेवेति"। आसप्तमादिति मातृसपिण्डाविषयं "मातुः सपिण्डा यत्नेन वर्जनीया द्विजातिभि" रिति व्यासवचनादिति रत्नाकरः तत्सारं, पञ्चमीं मातृपक्षाच्चेत्यादि पूर्वलिखितवचनाविरोधात्। तस्मादासप्तमादिति पितृपक्षविषयं आपञ्चमादिति मातृपक्षविषयमिति मिताक्षरासम्मत एव पक्षो युक्त इति तद्भ्रातर इति सोदरा एव सन्निकर्षादिति निबन्धकारः। अन्यथेति एषामनन्तराभिहितानां कन्याः परिणीताः सङ्करकारिण्यो भवन्ति तस्याध्यापयितुस्तद्विवाहमन्त्राध्यापयितुर्याजकस्येत्यर्थः। अत्र तस्य मातुलत्वे सिद्धेऽर्थात् तद्दुहितृस्तदपत्ययोर्भगिनीत्व[1]...... इत्यभिधानं तत्तन्मात्रस्य वर्णनार्थं अतिदिष्टत्वेन मुख्यमातुलतो जघन्यत्वाच्चेति सर्वं सुस्थम्।

इति महामहोपाध्यायश्रीमत्श्रीनाथाचार्यचूडामणिविरचिते विवाहतत्त्वार्णवे सम्बन्धविवेकः प्रथमस्तरङ्गः।

[2] Index of Verses Quoted in the *Vivāha-tattvārṇava* (Sambandha-viveka) (Pratīkas of both the halves of verses are given)

1 The portion bet. भगिनीत्व and इत्यभिधानं is corrupt.

2 The sign ? under "authority" indicates that no authority is named.

Index of Prose Passages Cited in the Work

PUBLICATION OF FASCICULE 22 OF THE CRITICAL EDITION OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.[1]

It is with an undefinable mixture of feelings that I rise on this occasion to discharge the task that has devolved on me to request the Chairman of this evening's function to formally announce the publication of Fascicule 22 of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata at which the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute has been working for the last thirty-two years. With this Fascicule and with the three Fascicules (18, 19 and 21) that have preceded it—making in all a total of over 1250 printed pages—the Śāntiparvan still stands only half completed. The other half of this, the longest and the most difficult Book of the Epic, is much more complicated, as it is to include the remaining 120 chapters of the Mokṣaparvan, Appendixes of longer passages, over 30 in number, another Appendix of closer parallelisms between sections of the Mokṣadharma and some Purāṇa texts, Critical Notes, Concordance and, above all, the General Introduction giving a critical estimate of the MS. material used and a discussion of the several literary, historical and philosophical topics that have to be dealt with in that connection. This last task is by no means easy. For, as Dr. W. Kirfel, one of the few veteran German Orientalists of the older generation that are happily still with us, observes in a review of the Rājadharma Fascicules that is to shortly appear in the Annals of the B. O. R. Institute[2]: this part of the Mahābhārata has not so far attracted the attention that it deserved in respect of the special significance of its contents. I may, for instance, refer in this connection to what is known as the Sāṁkhya Philosophy in the Mahābhārata. The Śāntiparvan itself gives over half a dozen accounts of it, with a different expositor each time, and their details diverge in important particulars. There is, for instance, an account of the System which is included in the present Fascicule

[1] Speech of Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, General Editor, Mahābhārata, on Ṛṣipañcamī, 6th September, 1951. The Hon'ble Shri Malojirao Nanasaheb Naik-Nimbalkar, Minister, Bombay State presided on the occasion.

[2] Since published, Vol. XXXI, pp. 315-316.

and which goes under the name of Bhṛgu, a name, as Sukthankar has shown, specially connected with a certain line of Mahābhārata text-transmission. This account, curiously enough, in its enumeration of the Sāṁkhya categories, finds no room for Ahaṁkāra, Buddhi and the Tanmātrās; and the theory of the Three Guṇas, which one is apt to consider as the very heart of the Sāṁkhya Philosophy, is also wanting there. Orthodox commentators like Arjunamiśra, Nilakaṇṭha and Vidyāsāgara try to so interpret the available text as to make it consistent with the Sāṁkhya of the Bhagavadgītā and the Advaita Vedānta; and once in a while they even go to the length of suggesting possible or plausible *pāṭhabhedas* or text-variations so as to make it the more readily conform to the standard teachings. These suggested variations are bodily accepted and perpetuated in later transcripts so that, under the circumstances, the task of reaching the original or authentic reading from a strictly objective point of view turns out to be extremely difficult. This is no doubt the reason why analytical scholars of the West have found the philosophical chapters of the Mahābhārata so distorted, inconsistent and unsystematic, with the result that any attempt to arrive at an original and self-contained philosophical nucleus in the Mahābhārata is dubbed by them as a sheer wild-goose chase. Between Garbe and Jacobi—Dahlmann and Hopkins—Deussen, Oldenberg and Winternitz—opinions are sharply divergent. Under the circumstances, with the best of intentions and despite all his own care and zeal, and (let me not fail to add) even when it is so loyally seconded by the Mahābhārata staff, with whom it is both a pleasure and a privilege to work, the Editor cannot help feeling rather weighed down by the intrinsic difficulties of the task, which, possibly, to one less advanced in age than myself, would not have appeared so very insurmountable. This should perhaps explain a part of the nervousness that I feel on the present occasion. But there is also another reason for it.

When Fascicule 21 which contains the Āpaddharma was published last December, with a view to personally present it, as usual, to the Rajasaheb of Aundh who—more than any one else—was responsible for inducing this Institute to take upon its young (I should have said, upon its infant) shoulders this onerous task of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, I obtained an interview with him at

his Poona residence, the Rajasaheb graciously accepted the Fascicule and referred to the rapidity with which the publication of the Critical Edition was going on during the last few years and went on to express the hope that, at the present rate of progress, he hoped to live long enough to receive the concluding Fascicule of the Edition from my own hands: a hope, alas, which was falsified in its first part and which is not likely to be otherwise in its latter part.

The late Rajasaheb of Aundh, as you all know, had promised to donate a sum of one lakh of Rupees for the Mahābhārata edition, out of which, upto the time of his death on April 13, 1951, the sum of Rs. 68,645-4-0 had been paid. In consequence of the merger of the Aundh State, the Government of Bombay has now undertaken the responsibility of paying up the balance of the promised grant in five or six instalments, the first instalment under the agreement having been already paid up on the last day of the preceding financial year. For this generous act, the Institute feels profoundly grateful to the Government of Bombay and particularly to its Premier, the Hon'ble Shriyut B. G. Kher. It is to be wished that some other States and Governments—I have particularly in view a couple of instances out-side Mahārāṣṭra—would act in the same spirit and discharge what may be termed their moral, if not legal, liabilities in good time.

I am compelled to make these remarks particularly in view of the precarious finances of the Institute's Mahābhārata project, which seem at present to have touched a very low ebb indeed. Of the eighteen Books of the Epic, six have been already completed, leaving behind in the process a financial liability on the Institute to the tune of some thirty thousand rupees. Five other Books are passing through press in various stages, the printing expenses of only two (and probably also a third) being provided for by *ad hoc* donations. The remaining seven Books, which include, amongst others, the great Droṇaparvan, the Anuśāsanaparvan, the Āśvamedhika and the concluding minor Books, are financially unprovided for. The Institute has announced that a person who donates the printing expenses of a Parvan will have his name specially mentioned on the title-page of that Parvan. The amounts required vary from Rs. five thousand to Rs. fifty thousand. Here therefore is an opport-

unity for the generously or religiously inclined persons to come to the assistance of this great literary undertaking which is to enhance the prestige of Indian scholarship : an undertaking such as can be launched forth not more than once in a century. Others can also help by purchasing a complete set for Rs. 450, which can remain in the family as a precious heirloom, seeing that after the present stock of copies of complete sets is exhausted, there is not likely to be a republication in the immediate future. Donations howsoever small, given in the spirit in which pious men donate monies in temples, will also be welcome. The Institute still gratefully remembers the unsolicited donation of a very small sum which a cultured lady from Bombay sent by Money Order on coming to know of our Mahābhārata work from a Radio talk. The financial problem is in fact weighing down upon the minds of the workers almost as acutely as the literary problem.

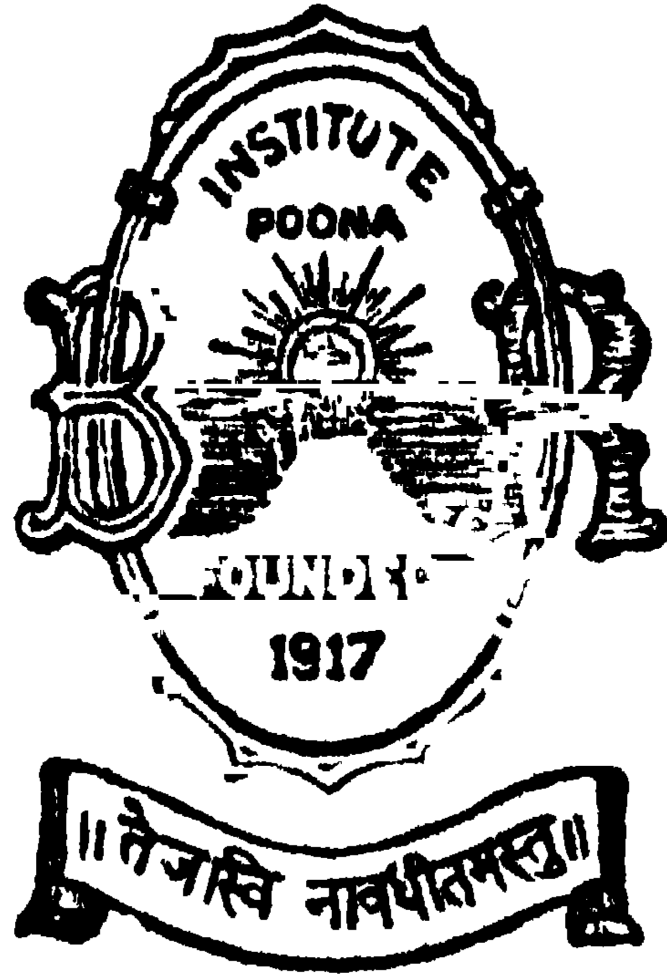
The Editorial work on the Śāntiparvan commenced on the 15th of August 1947 (a date notable in the recent history of India), and the actual printing began twelve months later, on the 15th of August, 1948. In the first year of printing, the Institute was able to publish a Fascicule (No. 18) of 392 pages. Fascicule 19 of 300 pages was published on 15th June 1950 after an interval of ten months, while Fascicule 21, giving a further instalment of 272 pages was brought out on the Gītājayantī Day, December 20, 1950. The present Fascicule of 324 pages took less than nine months for completion, and if this rate of progress can be consistently maintained, the remaining 8 to 10 hundred pages of the Śāntiparvan, with Vyāsa's grace, can be completed in another 36 months. But they will have to be months of unrelaxing, relentless toil, not interrupted by financial worries. But what right has frail humanity to expect all this good luck even for such a great cause ? *Karmaṇyevādhikāras te.*

I feel great pleasure, both on behalf of myself and of the Institute, in requesting the President of this evening's function to announce the publication of Fascicule 22 of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, containing the first sixty chapters of the Mokṣadharma sub-section of the Śāntiparvan.

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

REPORT

For 1951-52



POONA

Printed and published by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D., at the
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1952

Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

Annual Report for 1951-52

(from 1st April 1951 to 31st March 1952)

We have the honour to report on the working of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, for the year ending 31st March, 1952. The full reports of the Executive Board and of the several Departments of the Insitute, which, in accordance with the resolution of the General Body, are not printed, but type-written copies of which are available for inspection in the office, contain a detailed account of the activities of the Institute during the year 1951-52. We shall, therefore, briefly refer, in this our report, only to the more important aspects of the working of the Institute during this period.

2. Inspite of our serious efforts it was not possible to increase the output of the Publication Department of the Institute which could print only 1006 pages during the year under report. Volume XXXI (pts. 1-4) of the *Annals* was published and a few pages each of the different Volumes of the Descriptive Catalogue of Government Manuscripts were also printed off. Vol. XVII, pt. 5 of this Catalogue (Jain Manuscripts) is expected to be published shortly. The printing of the 4th Volume of MM. Dr. P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra* was continued during the year and so far about 300 pages of it have been printed off.

3. The Mahābhārata Department issued, during the year, part 1 of the *Mokṣadharma* section of the *Śāntiparvan* containing 324 pages. As regards the progress made in other *parvans*, we have to state that Dr. S. K. De has completed the revision of the critical apparatus of 115 Adhyāyas of the *Droṇaparvan* assigned to him, and so far 96 pages of it have been printed off in the Institute's press. The printing of the *Karṇaparvan* is proceeding steadily in the Nirnaya Sagar Press of Bombay. During the year under report, 48 pages of the 2nd fascicule of this *parvan* were printed off. The text of the *Strīparvan*, assigned to Dr. V. G. Paranjpe, was printed off in 1950 but it could not be formally published as the preliminary matter has not been so far received from the editor. Dr. R. N. Dandekar is at

present engaged in revising the critical apparatus of the *Śalyaparvan*, which is ready for 32 Adhyāyas. Prof. R. D. Karmarkar is revising the critical apparatus of the *Āśvamedhikaparvan*. The General Editor, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, is working on part II of the *Mokṣadharma* section of the *Śāntiparvan*. So far 1456 pages of the *Śāntiparvan* have been printed off. It will be thus seen that the Institute is trying its best to expedite the completion of this great undertaking. The volumes of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata published up to date comprise 7226 pages out of which 576 pages were printed during the year. The published portion consists of *Ādiparvan, Virāṭaparvan, Udyogaparvan, Āraṇyakaparvan, Sabhāparvan, Bhīṣmaparvan, Sauptikaparvan, Śāntiparvan* (*Rājadharma, Apaddharma* and *Mokṣadharma* part I), and the first fascicule of the *Karṇaparvan*. We may further point out, in this connection, that as many as six *parvans* are currently in different stages of progress.

4. As usual, efforts were made during the year to secure new grants for the Mahābhārata work as also to ensure the continuance of the old ones. Our special thanks are due to the following donors who have been kind enough to contribute to the Mahābhārata fund as follows :—

1	Government of India (completing the promised grant towards the printing cost of *Śāntiparvan*).	... ... Rs. 53,000
2	Akhila Bhāratīya Hindu Dharma Sevā Saṅgha Trust, Birla Nivas, Delhi.	... ... Rs. 4000
3	Government of Madras	... ... Rs. 10,000 (payable in ten annual instalments).

We are glad to report that, during his visit to Poona in February 1952, the President of the Indian Republic, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, invited the General Editor of the Mahābhārata for an interview, on 27th February, 1952, in connection with the promised grant from the Government of India towards the printing of the *Śāntiparvan*. We are grateful to the President for this great honour done by him to this Institute.

5. As regards the progress of the printing of the Descriptive Catalogue of Government Manuscripts, we have to state that, during the year, a few forms of four different Volumes of the Catalogue were printed. One of these Volumes, viz. Vol. XVII, part 5, is nearing completion and will be out early next year. The press copies of about 24 Volumes of this Catalogue are awaiting publication for the last 16 years. It is hardly necessary to emphasize the desirability of publishing these Volumes at as early a date as possible. We earnestly hope that Government will help the Institute to proceed in the matter by sanctioning a special annual grant for this purpose. The progress made so far by the Institute in the preparation and publication of the Descriptive Catalogue is, we believe, commensurate with the meagre funds made available to the Institute by Government. It is now indeed high time for Government to turn their serious attention to the expeditious publication of the whole Catalogue.

6. The Post-graduate and Research Department of the Institute, which is a constituent institution of the University of Poona, was reorganised during the year under report. Two research fellowships have been instituted in the Department and provision has been made for the publication of research monographs prepared by the staff and students. We are glad to report that the Government of India were pleased to sanction the continuation of their research fellowship at the Institute during the year. Mr. S. K. Dikshit has been working in the Department on a research project relating to the Epilogue of the Mahābhārata, which the University of Poona has kindly undertaken to finance. The members of the staff of the Departmant actively participated in the scheme of Post-graduate lectures and tutorials in Sanskrit and Ancient Indian Culture organised by the University. Out of the five students at present working in this Department, one, viz. Miss Nachane, who has been holding the Government of India fellowship, is expected to complete her thesis before very long. It is indeed very gratifying that, besides working for her Doctorate, Miss Nachane also appeared for the M. A. examination of the University of Poona (for the second time), in April 1951, with Ancient Indian Culture as her subject and secured a creditable first class. The principal resources of this Department for the year under report consisted of the Institute's

share in the fees received by the University of Poona and a special non-recurring research grant of Rs. 3,000/- received from the Bombay State towards the close of the year. We hope that the Government of Bombay will not only continue this grant but also increase it substantially in the years to come. The present staff of the Department consists of :—

1 Prof. R. D. Karmarkar, M.A. (Director)
2 Prof. P. K. Gode, M.A.
3 Prof. S. K. Dikshit, M.A.

7. The triennial elections of the Institute took place on 6th July 1951, when the New Regulating Council and the New Executive Board for the triennium 1951–1954 came into existence.

8. The year under report may be said to have started a little inauspiciously for the Institute. For, on the 13th of April 1951, occurred the sad demise of Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi, Rajasaheb of Aundh. One of the greatest friends and patrons of this Institute, Shrimant Rajasaheb promoted, in diverse ways, the various activities of the Institute since its very foundation. It was, as a matter of fact, his most generous offer of a grant of Rupees one lakh, which encouraged the Institute to launch on the enormous and arduous project of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata in 1919. Nothing indeed could be more sad than that Shrimant Rajasaheb should have passed away so soon after the Government of Bombay formally resolved to take upon themselves, in consequence of the merger of Aundh in the State of Bombay, the liability of paying to the Institute the balance of the Rajasaheb's grant and thus help his promise being practically fulfilled. Shrimant Rajasaheb had been a member of the Editorial Board of the Mahābhārata from the very beginning and was mainly responsible for the illustrations included in the Critical Edition. He was also the Chairman of the Regulating Council of the Institute for several years and one of its Vice-Presidents. In 1943, on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Institute, a Silver Jubilee Medal was awarded to him in recognition of his " distinguished services " to the Institute. In his demise the Institute has suffered a loss which is indeed irreparable.

9. The twenty-sixth Anniversary of Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar was duly celebrated on 6th September 1951, when MM. Prof.

V. V. Mirashi, M.A., of Nagpur, delivered an address on the "Original Home of the Vākāṭakas". The Hon'ble Shri Malojirao Nanasaheb Naik Nimbalkar, Minister, Bombay State, presided on the occasion. Prof. Mirashi's address is printed in the *Annals* Vol. XXXII, pp. 1-18.

Sir Ralph Turner, Director of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, and an Honorary Member of the Institute, paid a visit to the Institute, on 14th January 1952, during his itinerary in India as a member of the Commonwealth Universities Commission. He met the orientalists in Poona and then gave a talk on "Some Problems of Indo-Aryan Linguistics".

Among other lectures arranged at the Institute mention may be made of those by Dr. Nagaraja Rao, of the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad, who spoke on the "Vedantic Mysticism" on 26th December 1951 and by Shri P. C. Divanji who spoke on "Yoga of Yājñavalkya" on 31st December 1951.

Three foreign scholars worked at the Institute during the year under report. Dr. Yarrow of the Yale University (U. S. A.) was working on a critical edition of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*. Dr. Derrett of the London University, who stayed in the Institute's Guest House for over five months, was prosecuting his researches in Hindu Law. Dr. Patzig, who came over to India as a UNESCO scholar, also stayed in the Institute's Guest House. He was mainly interested in Indian philosophy.

Several delegates, who attended the Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress, held at Poona, in December 1951, visited the Institute and evinced keen interest in its research projects. Among other visitors may be mentioned the Hon'ble Shri N. V. Gadgil, Minister, Government of India, the Hon'ble Shri D. P. Karmarkar, Deputy Minister, Government of India, Shri S. S. Bhandarkar, Deputy Director of Education, Bombay State, Dr. Sadgopal, D.Sc., of the Forest Research Institute, Dehradun, Dr. Gilpatric of the Rockfeller Foundation, Dr. Barnett of the British Museum, and Prof. Mrs. Lohuizen-De Leeuw of the Cambridge University.

10. Dr. R. N. Dandekar was appointed delegate to the 22nd International Congress of Orientalists, held at Istanbul, in September 1951, by the University of Poona, Government of Bombay, the

Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay, the All India Oriental Conference and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Dr. Dandekar accordingly attended the Congress and participated in its deliberations. His report on the Congress is published in the *Annals* Vol. XXXII, p. i-xxiv.

MM. Dr. P. V. Kane, an Honorary Member and a member of the Regulating Council of the Institute, also attended the Congress as a delagate of the Government of India.

11. The work of the office of the All India Oriental Conference, which is permanently located at the Institute, is going on satisfactorily under the supervision of the General Secretary of the Conference, Dr. R. N. Dandekar. The Seventeenth Session of the Conference will be held at Ahmedabad next year.

12. In concluding this report we have to emphasize the need for more strenuous efforts to secure funds for the Institute's manifold programme of work. The financial condition of the Institute is far from being satisfactory. The net liabilities, which the Institute had to incur for its various projects and particularly for the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, now stands at Rs. 113000. We therefore take this opportunity of calling upon Government and the public to render more substantial help to the Institute to enable it to complete all its major academic undertakings successfully.

Finally we have to thank all our colleagues on the Regulating Council and the Executive Board for their most cordial cooperation in the work of the Institute during the year.

M. R. Jayakar	**J. R. Gharpure**	**R. N. Dandekar**
Chairman,	*Chairman,*	*Hon. Secretary*
Regulating Council	*Executive Board*	

[6th July 1952]

" Resolved that, in view of difficulties of printing, only a brief summary (not exceeding two forms) of the activities of the Institute during the year 1951-52 be printed in lieu of the full report. Three type-written copies of the full report should, however, be made available to members in the Office of the Institute"

Resolution adopted by the General Body on 6-7-1952

Statement of Income and Expenditure for 1951-52

INCOME

Serial No.	Items	Amount Rs.	as.	p.	Total Rs.	as.	p.	Remarks
	1. Mahābhārata Department							
1	Opening Balance ...	8876	14	10				
2	Grant from Aundh State (Bombay Govt.) ...	5500	0	0				
3	„ „ Bom. University ...	3250	0	0				
4	„ „ Bombay Govt. ...	C000	0	0				
5	„ „ „ D. A. ...	2340	0	0				
6	„ „ Govt. of India ...	59000	0	0				
7	„ „ Govt. of Bihar ...	1000	0	0				
8	„ „ Calcutta Uni. ...	500	0	0				
9	„ „ States ...	1500	0	0				
10	Poona University ...	5000	0	0				
11	Interest on Securities ...	438	14	0				
12	Grant from Tata Trust ...	1000	0	0				
13	„ „ Akhila Bharatiya Arya Trust ...	4000	0	0				
14	⅓rd of D. Sales Dept. ...	673	7	4				
					99079	4	2	Bal.Rs.39618-10-8
	2. Manuscript Department							
1	Opening Balance ...	0	0	0				
2	Grant from Bombay Govt. ...	3000	0	0				
3	„ „ „ D.A. ...	630	0	0				
4	Miscellaneous (Recovery of Postage for Mss) ...	120	5	0				
5	Advance Account (Transcript charges) ...	262	12	0				
6	Grant for Cupboard from Govt. ...	400	0	0				
7	Grant from Gen. Dept. ...	1045	5	0				
					5458	6	0	Bal. Nil.
	3. Iranian & Semitic Dept.							
1	Opening Balance ...	442	5	3				
					442	5	3	Bal. Rs. 425-0 6
	4. Publication Department							
1	Opening Balance ..	0	0	0				
2	Grant from Bombay Govt. ...	12000	0	0				
3	„ „ „ „ D.A. ...	450	0	0				
4	40% of Sales proceeds (A.C.)...	4335	4	0				
					16785	4	0	Bal. Rs. 58-6-6

INCOME—continued

Serial No.	Items	Amount Rs.	as.	p.	Total Rs.	as	p.	Remarks
	5. Research Department							
1	Openinz Balnace ...	3291	8	8				
2	Grant from Tuition Fees from Poona University ...	3146	0	0				
3	" " " for Ancient Indian Culture ...	750	0	0				
4	Grant for Research Fellowship from Govt. of India ...	1200	0	0				
5	" from Bombay Govt. ...	3000	0	0				
6	" from General Dept. ...	1000	0	0				
7	" " Fees from Ph. D. Students ...	903	4	0				
					13290	12	8	Bal. Rs. 2"83-13-2
	6. Sales Department							
1	Opening Balance ...	324	14	9				
2	Grant from Bom.Govt. D.A. ...	690	0	0				
3	Sale proceeds ...	16018	0	0				
					17032	14	9	Bal. Rs. 324-14-0
	7. General Department							
1	Opening Balance ...	52812	3	10				
2	Sub. other than Annual ...	1880	0	0				
3	Annual Subscription ...	618	0	0				
4	Grants for T. A. and D. A. ...	4669	12	0				
5	Interest on Securities ...	302	0	0				
6	5% Contri. from Depts. ...	5678	8	4				
7	Regis. Fee for Mbh. Edn. ...	150	0	0				
8	Advance Sub. for Mbh. Edn. ...	2506	0	0				
9	Recovery of Income Tax ...	63	0	0				
10	1/3rd of sales Dept. ...	673	7	4				
11	Outside Deposits ...	19000	0	0				
12	Interest on loan from Depts. ...	1416	0	0				
13	Value of Forms ...	16992	8	0				
14	2/3rd of E to be paid to Secy. Conf. ...	731	1	0				
15	80 percent of G. H. I. ...	81	0	0				
16	Year end Balance from Dept...	3192	14	0				
17	Miscellaneous ...	2564	8	6				
18	Return of the loan from Mbh. Dept. ...	10000	0	0				
19	Return of loan from Pub. Deptt. ...	500	0	0				
					123830	15	0	Bal. Rs. 76391-2-10
	Grand Total of Income ...	275919	13	10				
	" " " Expenditure...	156317	14	2				
	Balance on 31-3-1952 ...	119601	15	8				

Statement of Income and Expenditure for 1951-52

EXPENDITURE

Serial No.	Items	Amount Rs.	as.	p.	Total Rs.	as.	p.	Remarks
	1. Mahābhārata Department							
1	Hon. to General Editor ...	3000	0	0				
2	Payment to Staff ...	20247	10	9				
3	Interest on loan ...	871	0	0				
4	Travelling Allowance ..	6	12	0				
5	Asst. Curator's pay ...	720	0	0				
6	Peon's Pay ...	708	0	0				
7	Hon. to Parvan Editors ...	3120	0	0				
8	Purchase of books & MSS. ...	101	8	0				
9	Postage & Stationery ...	836	2	6				
10	5% Contri. to Gen. Dept. ...	4337	10	0				
11	Auditor's Hon. in part ...	40	0	0				
12	Miscellaneous ...	85	2	3				
13	Binding charges & Mbh. Pictures ...	4068	12	0				
14	Printing of Parvans ...	11318	0	0				
15	Return of Loan to Gen. Dept.	10000	0	0				
					59460	9	6	
	2. Manuscript Department							
1	Curator's Pay ...	1207	8	0				
2	Watchman's Pay ...	683	0	0				
3	Peon's Pay ...	707	0	0				
4	Typist's Pay in part ...	120	0	0				
5	Insurance ...	40	0	0				
6	Transcript charges ...	437	5	0				
7	Preservation of Descriptive Catalogue ...	1068	0	0				
8	5% Contri. to Gen. Dept. ...	150	0	0				
9	Miscellaneous ...	138	2	0				
10	Postage and Stationery ...	354	3	0				
11	Purchase of Gen. Stamp for MSS. ...	55	14	0				
12	Preservation of MSS. ...	102	6	0				
13	Purchase of Cupboard ...	395	0	0				
					5458	6	0	
	3. Iranian & Semitic Dept.							
1	Purchase of Books & MSS. ...	0	0	0				
2	Postage and Stationery ...	17	4	9				
					17	4	9	

EXPENDITURE—continued

Serial No.	Items	Amount Rs.	as.	p.	Total Rs.	as.	p.	Remarks
	4. Publication Department							
1	Printing of Annals & Report ...	3748	4	0				
2	Curator's Pay ...	1042	8	0				
3	Insurance ...	40	0	0				
4	Clerk's Pay ...	120	0	0				
5	Proof Reader's Pay ...	840	0	0				
6	Descriptive Catalogue ...	4986	0	0				
7	Postage	114	3	6				
8	Stationery ...	169	0	3				
9	Binding of works ...	140	14	0				
10	Sarvadarśana Saṁgraha ...	500	0	0				
11	Hist. of Dharma śāstra ...	3799	12	0				
12	Miscellaneous ...	83	4	0				
13	Kāvyaprakāśa & Devabodha ...	315	4	0				
14	Other works ...	297	11	9				
15	Return of loan to Gen. Dept. ...	500	0	0				
					16726	13	6	
	5. Research Department							
1	Govt. of India Fellowship & Research stipend ...	2013	6	3				
2	Postage and Stationery ...	206	12	0				
3	Purchase of Books ...	1602	5	3				
4	Ancient Culture Fellowship ...	2400	0	0				
5	Furniture ...	687	0	0				
6	Honorarium to Director ...	3000	0	0				
7	Miscellaneous ...	207	8	0				
8	5% contri. to General Dept. ...	390	0	0				
					10506	15	6	
	6. Sales Department							
1	Clerks' Pay ...	2883	0	0				
2	Peons' Pay ...	779	0	0				
3	Curator's Pay ...	360	0	0				
4	Asst. Curator's pay ...	360	0	0				
5	Auditor's honorarium ...	50	0	0				
6	⅓rd of D to Mbh. Dept. ...	673	7	4				
7	... ... to Gen. Dept. ...	673	7	4				
8	5 per cent Contribution to Gen. Dept. ..	800	14	4				
9	Insurance ...	40	0	0				
10	⅔rd of Sales E to Gen. Dept. for Conf. Secy. ...	731	1	0				
11	40% of Sales to Pub. Dept. ...	4335	4	0				
12	Interest to Gen. Dept. ...	600	0	0				
13	Miscellaneous ...	127	0	6				
14	Postage and Stationery ...	1021	0	3				
15	80% of G. H. I. to Gen. Dept. ...	81	0	0				
16	Year end balance to Gen. Dept. ...	3192	14	0	16708	0	9	

EXPENDITURE—continued

Serial No.	Items	Amount Rs.	as.	p.	Total Rs.	as.	p.	Remarks
	7. *General Department*							
1	Curator's Pay ...	1100	0	0				
2	Asst. Curator's Pay ...	1320	0	0				
3	Librarian's & clerk's Pay ...	3816	11	3				
4	Auditor's honorarium ...	60	0	0				
5	Travelling Allowance ...	256	4	0				
6	Income-tax paid ...	63	0	0				
7	Insurance ...	27	12	0				
8	Light charges ...	303	3	6				
9	Sanitation ...	207	12	0				
10	Purchase of Books, Binding...	454	9	3				
11	Furniture & Repairs ...	1220	8	0				
12	Gardener and Gardening ...	1418	3	0				
13	Return of Deposits ...	8200	0	0				
14	Interest on Deposits ...	3714	14	0				
15	Municipal Taxes etc. ...	338	1	0				
16	Paper for Press ...	22	0	0				
17	Peon's Pay ...	600	0	0				
18	Gratuity to staff ...	1607	0	0				
19	Compositors' Pay ...	11989	12	5				
20	Postage and Stationery ...	612	6	9				
21	Telephone charges ...	233	5	0				
22	Printing and Types ...	4640	0	9				
23	Miscellaneous ...	3189	0	3				
24	Grant to Mss. Dept. ...	1045	5	0				
25	„ to Research Dept. ...	1000	0	0				
					47439	12	2	
	Grand Total of Expenditure ...	156317	14	2				
	Balance on 1st April 1952 ...	119601	15	8				
	Total Receipts ...	275919	13	10				

Examined and found correct.

G. M. OKA & Co.
Registered Accountants
Auditors

Consolidated Statement of Income and Expenditure for 1951-52

(Excluding some double entries)

Serial No.	Items	Rs.	as.	p.
	INCOME			
1	Opening Balance ...	65747	15	4
2	Government Grants ...	99879	12	0
3	Grant from Universities and States ...	15049	4	0
4	Grant from Trusts ...	5000	0	0
5	Membership dues ...	2498	0	0
6	Proceeds from Sale of Books (A-I) ...	16018	0	0
7	Interest on Securities...	740	14	0
8	Value of works turned out by Institute's Press	16992	8	0
9	Advance Account (including income-tax recovered) ...	325	12	0
10	Advance Subscription for Mbh. Edn. and Regis. fee for Mbh. Edn. ...	2656	0	0
11	Recovery of Postage for Mss. from Borrowers...	120	3	0
12	Deposit from outside ...	19000	0	0

Serial No.	Items	Rs.	as.	p.
	EXPENDITURE			
1	Payment to Staff ...	50672	2	5
2	Purchase of Books and Mss.	2158	6	6
3	Postage & Stationery...	3876	4	0
4	Miscellaneous etc. ...	3830	1	0
5	Binding of Books & Mbh. Pictures. ...	4209	10	0
6	Insurance ...	147	12	0
7	Furniture & Repairs ...	2302	8	0
8	Interest on Deposits ...	3769	14	0
9	Travelling Allowance...	263	0	0
10	Return of Deposits ...	8200	0	0
11	Sanitation Rent & Corporation Taxes ...	545	13	0
12	Honorarium to Auditor ...	150	0	0
13	Income tax paid ...	63	0	0
14	Light Charges ...	303	3	0
15	Gardener & gardening ...	1418	3	0
16	Preparation of Descriptive Catalogue ...	4986	0	0
17	Gratuity to staff ...	1607	0	0
18	Honorarium to Editor & Gen. Director ...	9120	0	0
19	Research Fellowship ...	4413	6	3
20	Publication of Books ...	8060	15	9
21	Mbh. Printing ...	11318	0	0
22	Preservation of Mss. ...	102	6	0

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE—continued

Serial No.	Items	Rs.	as.	p.	Serial No.	Items	Rs.	as.	p.
	INCOME					EXPENDITURE			
13	Miscellaneous ...	2564	8	6	23	Telephone charges ...	233	5	6
					24	Types etc. ...	4640	0	0
						Total Expenditure...	126990	15	2
						Balance on 1st April 1952 ...	119601	15	8
	Total Receipts...	246592	14	10		Total Receipts...	246592	14	10

Details of Balance

1	With Bank	Rs.	75,901-14-4
2	Securities	,,	13,100-0-0
3	National Savings Certificates	,,	22,500-0-0
4	S. B. Account	,,	4,738-3-0
5	With Treasurer	,,	3,361-14-4
		Rs.	119601-15-8

Examined and found correct.

G. M. OKA, & Co.
Registered Accountants
& Auditors

THE TWENTY-SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS[1] ISTANBUL

15th-22nd September, 1951

By

R. N. Dandekar

[1 Introductory. 2 Organization of the Congress: administrative and academic. 3 Indian Delegates. 4 Opening Session. 5 Indology Section: Other Sectional Meetings. 6 Meetings of the General Assembly. 7 Closing Session. 8 Receptions and Social Functions. 9 Archæology in Turkey: Museums, Mosques etc.: Exhibitions. 10 Conclusion.]

1. *Introductory*

At the twenty-first International Congress of Orientalists held at Paris in July 1948, four delegations, namely, Egyptian, Indian, Swedish, and Turkish, had officially invited the Congress to hold its next, that is, the twenty-second, session in their countries. On the recommendation of the International Consultative Committee the invitation of the Turkish delegation was formally accepted by the Congress and it was resolved that the twenty-second International Congress should be held at Istanbul some time in 1951. Scholars from Turkey had been participating in the deliberations of the International Congresses even since the very first session, but, it is generally admitted that they had not played any significant rôle in these Congresses. It was perhaps on account of this fact that Turkey's invitation to hold the twenty-second Congress at Istanbul was accepted with a certain amount of doubt and hesitation.[2] Let it, therefore, be said, at the very

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1 For the history of the Internationl Congress of Orientalists and a brief account of India's participation in the previous Congresses as also of Indological studies in Europe in recent years, see Dandekar: "The Twenty-first International Congress of Orientalists, Paris." *ABORI* XXIX, pp. i-xxvi.

2 Marshal Suleyman Pasha and Mahmud Pasha al-Feleki represented Turkey at the first Congress. *cf.* Prof. Z. V. Togan's lecture delivered in the Faculty of Law of the Istanbul University on the 17 May 1950: *Scientific Collaboration of the Islamic Orient and the Occident*, p. 24.

outset, that, by organizing the twenty-second International Congress of Orientalists in a very efficient manner, Turkey has vindicated herself in the fullest possible measure.

2. *Organization of the Congress*

As early as November 1950 the first circular in connection with the Istanbul Congress was issued. It was announced that the necessary initial steps in the matter of the organization of the Congress were being actively taken by the Istanbul University and other learned associations interested in oriental studies. In course of time the three main committees, namely, the Committee of Patronage, the Committee of Honour, and the Organizing Committee, were duly formed[3]. The Committee of Patronage was formed under the high Protection of H. E. Celâl Bayar, the President of the Turkish Republic, and included the Prime Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the Minister of Education in Turkey, the Rectors of the Universities of Istanbul and Ankara, the Rector of the Technical University, and the Vali of Istanbul. Among the fifteen members of the Committee of Honour were such distinguished orientalists as Professors Massignon (Paris), Gibb (Oxford), Toynbee (London), Albright (Baltimore), Brockelmann (Halle), Littmann (Tübingen), Levi Della Vida (Rome), Taha Hussain (Cairo), and Sarton (Princeton). The Organizing Committee, which was mainly responsible for all the arrangements in respect of the Congress, consisted of the President, two Vice-Presidents, one Secretary, three members, and twenty members of the Advisory Council. Prof. Zeki Velidi Togan was the President, and Dr. Fahir Iz the Secretary of the Organizing Committee. In addition to the usual secretarial office, the Organizing Committee

[3] Incidentally it may be pointed out that the ground for the proper organization of the International Congress of Orientalists at Istanbul was already being prepared in Turkey. In his lecture mentioned in the above foot-note, for instance, Prof. Zeki Velidi Togan referred to the Congress of Orientalists, which was to be held at Istanbul in 1951. He told his audience that the International Congress was, so far, held only once in an oriental city, namely, in Algiers, and that Istanbul would be the second oriental city to hold the Congress. He, therefore, called upon the Turkish scholars to cooperate with the Organizers of that Congress to make it a success both administratively and academically.

had set up under itself several bureaus to look after the arrangements relating to accommodation, reception, excursions, information, sight-seeing, exhibitions, administration, exchange, and post and telegraph. The second circular, which was issued by the Organizing Committee in April 1951, contained details about the programme, membership, travelling facilities, accommodation in Istanbul etc. Titles of papers submitted to the various sections of the Congress and further details regarding travel to Turkey were given in the third circular issued in July 1951.

In view of the fact that Istanbul forms an important point of contact between Europe and Asia, and between Christian Occident and Moslem Orient, the Organizers of the twenty-second International Congress had announced their intention to organize that Congress on a larger scale than heretofore. On the academic side, therefore, the Congress was divided into fifteen main sections, some of which were further subdivided in order to facilitate discussion of a specialised character. These sections were: 1 Ancient Orient; 2 (a) Ancient Anatolia: Archaeology; 2 (b) Ancient Anatolia: Philology; 3 Semitic Studies; 4 (a) Islamic Studies: Arabic Language and Literature; 4 (b) Islamic Studies: Historical and Cultural Problems; 4 (c) Islamic Studies: Religion; 4 (d) Islamic Studies: Social Problems; 5 (a) East Asia: China and Japan; 5 (b) East Asia: Malaya and Indonesia; 6 Central Asia; 7 (a) Turcology (Turkish and Ural-Altaic Studies): History; 7 (b) Turcology: Philology; 7 (c) Turcology: Social Problems; 8 Indology; 9 Iranian Studies; 10 Christian Orient; 11 Old Testament; 12 African Studies; 13 Egyptology; 14 Byzantino-Islamic Studies; 15 (a) Islamic Art: General; 15 (b) Islamic Art: Turkish and Iranian. The Organizing Committee had, in consultation with various scholars, appointed for each of the sections (and subsections) a permanent Chairman, who would act as the Leader of that section throughout the session. It was also decided that, at its first sitting, the Leader of the section should nominate some person as the permanent Secretary of that section. The Leader and the Secretary were to be generally responsible for the working of the section. The Organizing Committee had further nominated as its own representatives for each section one or two members of Turkish Universities. These latter were expected to

act as liaison officers between the sections and the Organizing Committee. After the papers to be read at the various sections were received, an effort was made so to arrange the programme of each section (for the whole session) that generally subjects related to one another, directly or indirectly, could be discussed on the same day. This made it possible for the Organizing Committee to nominate a specialist on those subjects to preside over the deliberations of the section on that particular day. In addition to its Leader or permanent Chairman, each section thus had a different Chairman for each day. Provision was also made for holding joint sessions of different sections to discuss problems of common interest to those sections. It was further arranged that papers, which would be of interest generally to all orientalists, should be presented at the sittings of the General Assembly of the Congress instead of at the sections to which they were originally submitted. At the first session of every section, the Leader and the Secretary of that section, in consultation with other members, fixed up a time-table for the entire work of the section. This time-table was adhered to as far as possible throughout the session.[4] At the end of each day's session, the Secretary of the section was expected to submit to the Organizing Committee a more or less detailed report on the papers read and discussions held in the section on that day.[5]

It will be thus seen that both on the administrative side as well as the academic side, efforts were made to render the organization of the Congress as faultless as possible. One improve-

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4 It is necessary that some such system is adopted at the sessions of the All India Oriental Conference. Summaries of papers are distributed to members and delegates on their arrival at the venue of the Conference. This helps them to find out as to which papers, in the different sections, would be of special interest to them. But, in the absence of any fixed time-table, it becomes almost impossible for them to know definitely when those papers would be actually read and discussed. It is, therefore, suggested that, on the day previous to the Inauguration of the Conference, the General President, the Sectional Presidents, and the Sectional Secretaries appointed by the Local Committee should meet together and fix up the time-tables for the various sections. Cyclostyled copies of these time-tables should then be made available to members before the work of the sections commences.

5 These were made available to newspapers, which could thus publish authorised reports of the proceedings of the Congress.

ment in the organization of the International Congress is, however, essential. It is of prime importance that summaries of papers to be read and discussed at the Congress are made available to members sufficiently in advance of the opening of the Congress.[6] Mere titles of papers do not prove helpful. Unless scholars are enabled to give previous thought to the main points put forth in a particular paper, no fruitful discussions can possibly take place. It is, therefore, hoped that some steps in this direction would be taken by the Organizers of the future Congresses.

3. *Indian Delegates*

It was originally announced that the twenty-second International Congress of Orientalists would be held at Istanbul from the 8th to the 15th of September, 1951. However, in view of the Inter-Parliamentary Congress, which was to be held at Istanbul about that time, the dates for the Congress of Orientalists had to be changed to the 15th–22nd of September. This was announced in the second circular issued in April 1951. The Government of India had appointed MM. Dr. P. V. Kane (Bombay), Dr. R. C. Majumdar (Banaras), Dr. M. Z. Siddiqi (Calcutta), and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja (Tehran - Iran) as their delegates to participate in the deliberations of the Istanbul Congress. I was appointed delegate to that Congress by the Government of Bombay, the University of Poona, the All India Oriental Conference, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, and the Somnath Sanskrit Vishva Parishad. Doctors Kane, Majumdar, and Siddiqi left Bombay on Sunday, the 9th September, by the Air India International plane, and, travelling via Cairo, Beirut, and Ankara, reached Istanbul in the evening on the 11th September. I travelled by a Pan American Airways Clipper via Karachi, Basra, and Beirut. I left Bombay on the morning of the 10th September but was required to spend more than twenty-four hours at Karachi, and so reached Istanbul early on the 12th Septembar morning. All four of us were accommodated in the Pera Pelas Hotel at Istanbul. Dr. and Mrs. Kunhan Raja arrived at Istanbul from Tehran on the 13th September. They stayed at the Park

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6 As a matter of fact, they ought to be sent to delegates at least one month before the Congress. Of course, to make this possible scholars also must cooperate with the Organizers by sending the summaries of their papers well in advance.

Hotel. Among other Indians, who attended the Congress, were Dr. M. Nizamuddin of the Osmania University, Hyderabad, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer, and Dr. Tomar, who is at present a lecturer in Hindi at the University of Rome. The total number of members registered for the International Congress was 466.[7]

As indicated in my detailed report on the twenty-first International Congress of Orientalists held at Paris in 1948, the entire work of the Congress can be normally divided into three main items, namely, (1) 'reunions', receptions, and similar other social gatherings; (2) special meetings, and visits to museums, exhibitions, and learned societies; and (3) the meetings of the General Assembly of the Congress and of the different sections. I shall deal with the last item first.

4. *Opening Session*

The opening session of the twenty-second International Congress of Orientalists began at 2-30 p. m. on Saturday, the 15th September, 1951, in one of the newly constructed assembly-halls of the Istanbul University. Before the opening session, however, there were two meetings. The first was a sort of 'reunion' of Orientalists who had come to Istanbul from various parts of the world to attend the International Congress. This was held on Friday, the 14th September, at 8 p. m. in the Professors' Hall of the Faculty of Economics, Beyazit. I have often felt that more substantial work can perhaps be accomplished at such informal gatherings than at formal meetings. Here one can meet, at one place, scholars with whom one wants to discuss some specific problems. Here too appointments can be made for further personal meetings and discussions.[8] The other meeting was a joint meeting of the Organizing Committee, the Standing Committee of the twenty-first International Congress, and the Leaders of the various sections to elect candidates for the International Consultative Committee. The International Consultative Committee,

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7 The number of delegates from some other countries was roughly as follows: Turkey—80; Germany—64; Great Britain—56; France—49; Italy—29; U. S. A.—26; Egypt—18; Pakistan—14.

8 Owing to a dinner engagement at the house of His Excellency the Indian Ambassador in Turkey, which was previously fixed, we, Indian delegates, could not attend the "reunion."

which consists of representatives from various countries, and which serves more or less as the Standing Committee of the International Congress, is generally responsible for the conduct of the Congress as a whole and continues to function until a new Consultative Committee is elected at the next Congress. According to the constitution of the International Congress, the President of the local Organizing Committee acts also as the General President of the Congress. At the beginning of the proceedings of the opening session of the Istanbul Congress, therefore, Prof. H. Massé, acting on behalf of Prof. Bacot, who was the General President of the twenty-first International Congress held at Paris (but who was not able to make the journey to Istanbul), with a short speech, formally handed over the charge of the International Congress to Professor Zeki Velidi Togan [9]. In his inaugural address, delivered in French [10], H. E. Professor Fuat Köprülü, the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs [11], dwelt upon the importance of oriental studies in general and the significance of an international gathering such as the Congress of Orientalists where scholars from all over the world could meet together in a true spirit of comradeship, without any thought of recrimination and with a single purpose of promoting knowledge, learning, and culture for the benefit of humanity as a whole. He also invited the attention of Islamic scholars to the fact that research in the field of Islamic studies has not gone beyond theology and suggested that greater emphasis should now be put on the social and economic aspects of these studies. He sounded a note of warning that, unless the angle of vision of Islamic scholars was basically changed, their work was not

[9] Dr. Togan is Professor of Turkish History in the University of Istanbul and is internationally recognised as an authority on the subject. He also taught for some time at the University of Wien. Throughout the Congress session, Professor Togan had been ever active and helpful to delegates. He read his own paper before the General Assembly of the Congress in German, but, on all other formal occasions, he, in his capacity as the President, spoke in Turkish. Of course, an efficient young lady was always by his side to interpret his speech in English or French.

[10] In Turkey, French seemed to be in greater vogue than any other European language. German came next. English was understood but not spoken by many.

[11] H. E. Prof. Fuat Köprülü taught in Turkish Universities before becoming Foreign Minister. He has attended some previous International Congresses of Orientalists.

likely to bear any substantial fruit. His Excellency was followed first by the Rector of the Istanbul University, Prof. Ömer Lüftü Barkan, who, in a brief speech in French, welcomed the delegates, and then by Prof. H. Massé, who, speaking on behalf of all delegates, conveyed fraternal greetings to the Congress. Professor Togan then delivered his presidential address. He began with a short account of the various stages and phases of the organization of the Istanbul Congress. He pointed out that, though the first circular regarding the Congress was issued in November 1950, actual work in that connection could be said to have started only on the 11th April 1951. The Organizers, he continued, had to encounter several difficulties, such as, general lack of experience in the matter of such international conferences, the unexpectedly voluminous correspondence with which they had to cope, the crowded time which Istanbul had on account of the sessions of some other international bodies, and the Beyram (Bakr-Id) holidays which came just before the opening of the International Congress. Prof. Togan then referred, among other things, to the arrangements made by them in regard to the working of the General Assembly and the different sections, to the exhibition of manuscripts and the facilities made available to scholars for getting photo-copies of the manuscripts, if necessary, and to the various excursions in Anatolia which would be found highly interesting and instructive by specialists. Finally he mentioned some of the important projects of academic and scholarly character which the Congress would be called upon to consider critically and constructively. He first dwelt upon the necessity of bringing into existence an International Association of Orientalists, which would serve as a permanent body of the International Congress. This Association, the President further suggested, will then have to be properly integrated with the International Centre for Research in Philosophy and Humanistic Sciences, which is working under the auspices of the UNESCO as its subsidiary body. Then there was the grand project of a History of Turkish Language and Literature — a sort of Grundriss of Turkish Studies — to be prepared by international scholars. In the course of his address, Prof. Togan further referred, among other projects, to the Centre of International Indological Research, the scientific collaboration of scholars from the Orient and the Occident in connection with Islamic studies,

the translations of Oriental literature into European languages, and the Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles. He announced that the International Consultative Committee had decided to appoint small experts' committees to examine these projects carefully and to report on them to the Congress so that the Congress could then take appropriate action in regard to them according to the recommendations of the committees. The committee appointed to consider and report on the project of the Dictionary of Sanskrit, undertaken by the Deccan College Research Institute of Poona, consisted of Dr. P. V. Kane (Chairman), Professor H. W. Bailey of Cambridge, Prof. E. Waldschmidt of Göttingen, Prof. J. Filliozat of Paris, and myself. Before concluding his address, Prof. Togan formally announced the personnel of the new International Consultative Committee. Dr. P. V. Kane was one of the twenty-five members elected to that Committee.

After his address, the President called upon Prof. Fawtier, the Director of the International Centre of Research in Philosophy and Humanistic Sciences of the UNESCO, to address the gathering. Prof. Fawtier spoke, at some length, on the work of the Centre and the way in which that work was expected to foster universal peace and good will. Thereafter, at the instance of the President, Dr. Kane spoke about the Dictionary of Sanskrit. He began by adverting to the necessity and urgency of undertaking the preparation of such a Dictionary at this time and then briefly outlined the principles on which the work was being carried out and the progress that was so far achieved. He particularly emphasized the international character of this literary enterprise and mentioned the generous help received for it from the Government of India and the Government of Bombay. After Dr. Kane's brief speech, the Secretary of the Organizing Committee made a few formal announcements which brought the opening session to a conclusion.

5. *Indology Section: Other Sectional Meetings*

From Sunday, the 16th September, onwards the work of the Congress was carried on mainly through its different sections. However three meetings of the General Assembly of the Congress were also convened on three defferent days before the closing session. The first session of the Indology section was held at 2-30 p. m. on

the 16th September. Prof. R. L. Turner [12] was the Leader and the permanent Chairman of the section and he nominated me as the Secretary of the section. The Turkish representative, who acted as a liaison officer between the Indology section and the Organizing Committee, was Dr. Abidin Itil. [13] Before commencing the business of the section, we fixed up a time-table for our work. [14] It was decided that only the papers of those scholars, who were actully attending the International Congress, should be read and discussed. It was felt that, unless the authors themselves were present, the discussion on their papers would not prove particularly fruitful. The Secretary of the section, however, announced that the papers of the absentee scholars could be made available for perusal to all those who were interested in them. It was agreed that the work of the

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[12] Prof. Sir Ralph Turner, who is one of the most distinguished Indologists in Great Britain, is at present the Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. His principal interest is Indian Linguistics and his magisterial work, *Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Nepalese Language*, is regarded as a model of the work of that kind.

[13] Dr. Abidin Itil teaches Sanskrit at the University of Ankara. Incidentally it may be pointed out that Sanskrit is being taught at Ankara for several years now. The eminent German Indologist, Prof. W. Ruben, was Professor of Sanskrit at that University till recently. He has now gone back to Berlin (Eastern Zone). Professor Ruben, whose text-critical studies relating to the *Rāmāyaṇa* are well-known, has recently published a monograph entitled *Die Philosophen der Upanishaden*. Dr.Itil was a student of Prof.Ruben's. Another eminent Indologist, who worked at the University of Ankara, was Professor O. Lacombe of Paris. His work relating to ancient Indian philosophy in general and the *viśiṣṭādvaita* of Rāmānuja in particular is well-known to Indologists.

[14] Twenty-nine papers were received by the Organizing Committee for the Indology section. One paper, namely, " La trace de Rome en Indochine ", by L. Malleret of Hanoi, which was originally assigned to the section relating to East Asia : Malaya and Indonesia, was subsequently transferred to the Indology section. It was further decided that Dr. R. C. Majumdar's paper, which was included in the Indology section, should be presented before the General Assembly of the Congress.

[15] The following are the titles of some of such papers : B. Groslier (Hanoi) : " La conception alexandrine de l' Inde ". B. C. Chhabra (Ootacamund) : " Future of Indian Epigraphy. " A. N. Upadhye (Kolhapur) : " On the latest phase of the progress of Prakrit studies. " J. Gonda (Utrecht) : " Linguistic evidence concerning the route of the ancient Indian expansion towards Indonesia." J. Boisselier (Hanoi) : " Vajrapāṇi dans l'art du Bayon. " T. N. Ramachandran (Calcutta) : " Historic India and her temples. " W. Norman Brown (Philadelphia) : " The beginnings of Rajput painting ".

section should be finished in three sittings to be held on three consecutive days.[16] As the Secretary of the section I had to prepare, at the end of each sitting, a full report regarding the work transacted in the section and sumit it to the Organizing Committee.

Professor Turner presided over the first session of the Indology section held on the 16th September. He opened the proceedings with a few introductory remarks and then called upon me to read my paper on "Progress in Indology since 1948." At the twenty-first International Congress of Orientalists held at Paris in 1948, I had presented a more or less exhaustive survey of the work, which had been done in the field of Indological studies during the interval, which had unfortunately elapsed between the twentieth and the twenty-first International Congresses.[17] I was then greatly encouraged to know that that survey was found very useful by several of my colleagues. I, therefore, decided to present a similar survey at the Istanbul Congress as well. It is my belief that such periodical surveys help us adequately to plan our future programme of work and also to determine the lines on which that work should be carried on. In my paper, I dealt, at some length, with the progress of Indological studies mainly under the following heads : (1) editorial and text-critical work; (2) expository or exegetical work; (3) religion, philosophy, and cults ; (4) grammar and linguistics ; (5) history and geography ; (6) history of literature and thought; (7) sociological studies ; (8) lexicographical and bibliographical work ; and (9) organizational work. Under the last head, I referred to some new organizations recently started in India for the promotion of Indological studies, such as, the Centre of International

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16 The Indology section must be said to have been rather poorly represented at the Istanbul Congress. There were more sittings and keener discussions in this section at the Paris Congress. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the total number of papers received for the different sections of the Congress was 322. Naturally enough the largest number of papers (i. e. 76) was submitted to the section on Islamic Studies (including General Islamic Art). After that came the Turcology section (including Turkish Art) with 56 papers. The two sections relating to Ancient Anatolia had 35 papers. All these sections were seen to be busy throughout the session of the Congress and their deliberations proved very illuminating and fruitful.

17 This is published in the *Actes du XXI e Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Paris 1949, pp. 179-84.

Indological Research sponsored by the University of Poona, [18] the Somanātha Saṁskṛta Viśva Pariṣad, which was formally inaugurated on the occasion of the installation of the Jyotirliṅga in the Somnath temple, [19] the College of Indology started by the Banaras Hindu University, the Research Department started by the Government of West Bengal in the Calcutta Sanskrit College, and the Mithila Sanskrit Vidyāpīṭha of Darbhanga. My report on "Progress in Indology" was supplemented by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, who referred to some recent work done in the field of archaeology, numismatics, and epigraphy. He mentioned, in this connection, the archaeological excavations at Hastinapur and in the region of the river Sarasvatī, the bibliography of Indian numismatics, published by the Numismatic Society of India, and the volumes of Kalacuri inscriptions and the Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia.

After my paper, the Chairman invited Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer to speak on the Centre of International Indological Research, and the huge literary project, which the Centre proposes to launch, namely, the Encyolopedia of Technical Terms and Notions in Ancient Indian Thought. It may be recalled that this project was already discussed and generally approved by the Indology section at the Paris Congress. What Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyer wanted to do was mainly to announce that the University of Poona had undertaken to sponsor the establishment of the Centre at Poona and that the work on the project would start very soon. There was some lively discussion on the subject in which Dr. Kunhan Raja, Prof. Brough, Dr. Kane, Dr. Majumdar, and Prof. Philips

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18 Some of the objects of the C. I. I. R. are the following : (1) to promote the study of Indology with the cooperation of scholars interested therein in all parts of the world; (2) to publish monographs and a 'Review' bearing on the several aspects of such study; (3) to prepare materials and secure contribution for and to compile an Encyclopedia of Technical Terms and Notions in Ancient Indian Thought.

19 The Somanātha Saṁskṛta Viśva Pariṣad is established mainly with the following purpose in view: "India's immediate and paramount need is to promote the study of Sanskrit so that this treasure-house of her past and the source and inspiration of her modern languages should become an intimate part of the life of the people; research in Indology and other allied subjects must keep pace with the advance of knowledge and thus the varied and manifold wealth of our heritage must be made more readily available to the entire world".

participated. The main point, round which the discussion centred, related to the extent of the proposed Encyclopedia. What exactly did the term 'ancient Indian' denote? And was it intended to take into account the entire field of ancient Indian thought? Dr. Maryla Falk and myself explained that, besides philosophy and the closely connected fields of religion and mythology, the project would take into accouut also the terms and notions relating to such sciences as medicine, fine arts, architecture, law etc. (of course not in their purely experimental and practical aspects, but in those based on ideological data). Chronologically, however, it would be limited to what may be called pre-commentarial period, except where the evolution of a notion palpably continues. It was further pointed out that no attempt would be made to apportion to the collaborating scholars the work to be done by each or to impose on them a fixed sequence of inquiry. Without any intention of regimenting individual efforts, an emphasis might be put only on the desirabitity of producing results which would be as completely borne out by contextual evidence as is possible on the basis of near-exhaustive surveys of the available original texts.

The second session of the Indology section, which commenced at 9-30 a. m. on the 17th September, was presided over by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. The first paper to be read in this session was Dr. C. Kunhan Raja's on "The alphabet in Pāṇini's grammar of Sanskrit". Dr. P. V. Kane spoke on "Lucky days for various acts in ancient India". In his paper, "Ein unbekannter kanonischer Sanskrittext zur Buddhalegende", Prof. Waldschmidt[20] drew attention to the newly discovered *Catuṣpariṣat-Sūtra* and emphasized its significance by comparing it with other texts pertaining to the Buddha-legend. Prof. Malleret's[21] paper entitled "La trace de Rome en Indochine" was very informative and aimed at presenting a connected account of the intercourse between the Roman world and the ancient orient in general and Indochina in particular.

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20 Prof. E. Waldschmidt is Professor of Indology in the Göttingen University. His excellent edition of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, which was recently published, is well-known to scholars.

21 Professor L. Malleret is the Director of the École Française d'extrême Orient.

In his very illuminating paper, Prof. J. Brough [22] sought to explain that rather difficult passage in the *Nirukta, indriyanityaṁ vacanaṁ Audumbarāyaṇaḥ* (*Nir.* I. 1. 2), in the light of Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* II. 345–349. Among those, who actively participated in the discussion on the papers presented at this session, were Dr. Duyvendak, Mme. Gripekoven, Dr. Falk, Dr. Majumdar and myself.

Prof. Waldschmidt presided over the third session of the Indology section which began at 2-30 p. m. on the 18th September At the outset, Prof. K. Groenbech of Copenhagen made an important announcement about the achievements of the third Danish Central Asian Expedition. Then Prof. G. Morgenstierne [23] read a highly interesting paper on "Linguistic geography applied to the Dardic languages of the Hindukush." He illustrated, by means of lantern-slides, how these frontier languages of India were geographically distributed, and what, linguistically, the mutual connection among them was. While complimenting Prof. Morgenstierne on the excellent work done by him in this field, Prof. Turner called upon the younger generation of Indian and Pakistani scholars to pay greater attention to this important line of research and carry forward the work so ably initiated by this distinguished Norwegian Indologist. In his paper on "Les conceptions de la mémoire dans les doctrines indiennes", Prof. Filliozat [24] examined, in some detail, the concept of *smṛti* in Indian thought. Dr. Falk and Prof. Turner made a few observations on the subject. [25] Dealing with "The embryo myth in Vedic thought and ritual",

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[22] Prof. J. Brough teaches Sanskrit in the University of London. His excellent articles on the "Gotras" were published, some time ago, in the *JRAS*. He is at present working on a critical edition of the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari.

[23] Professor G. Morgenstierne of the Oslo University has earned great reputation through his monumental work relating to the frontier languages of India. Incidentally, he is following in the foot-steps of his distinguished father-in-law, the late Prof. Sten Konow.

[24] Prof. J. Filliozat is the Secretary of the French Asiatic Society and is one of the most active Indologists in France. He is also connected with the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris. Recently he has written a brilliant historical treatise on Indian medicine and has also collaborated with Prof. Bloch and Prof. Renou in the editing of *Canon Bouddhique Pāli*.

[25] Prof. Turner suggested that there might be some linguistic connection between *smṛti* and *sam-bharate*.

Dr. M. Falk[26] analysed the peculiar concept relating to the embryo and briefly traced its evolution in the later post-Vedic thought. Dr. Kunhan Raja's paper, entitled "The genuine part of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* is only the first nine cantos", evoked quite a lively discussion in which Dr. Kane and I were the main participants. Presenting his paper on "Buddha and Jesus Christ in their oldest representations in art" Prof. Aufhauser[27] demonstrated, by means of lantern-slides, how the representations in art of Buddha and Christ have evolved on more or less similar lines.

While concluding the work of the section, Prof. Turner mentioned that Professor F. W. Thomas had recently completed his 85th year and suggested that a telegram should be sent to that doyen of European Indologists conveying to him the respectful greetings of the Indologists who had assembled at Istanbul for the International Congress. Prof. Turner's suggestion was unanimously hailed by all present. Then, after a vote of thanks to the Leader and the Secretary, the third and the last session of the Indology section terminated.

Even after the conclusion of the Indology section, however, I made it a point to get into touch with the Indologists, who had come to Istanbul, and discuss with them several problems of common interest.[28] This personal contact is bound to prove of far greater value than the formal sectional meetings. For instance it gave me an opportunity, on the one hand, to get first-hand information about the work, which is being carried on in the field of Indological studies and research in different parts of the world, and, on the other, to acquaint those scholars with the work which I, personally, and the various learned institutions, with which I am connected, have been doing and are planning to do.

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26 Prof. Maryla Falk, who was, for some years, a lecturer in the Calcutta University, is now Professor of Indology in the University of Rome. Her thought-provoking work, *Il mito psicologico nell'India antica*, which was published in 1939, seeks to trace by the genetic method the unfolding of Indian thought from the psychological cosmogony of the *Ṛgveda* to the reflective self-consciousness of later forms of Hinduism and Buddhism. She is now actively working for the C. I. I. R.

27 Dr. J. Aufhauser is Professor in the University of München.

28 Besides the scholars mentioned already, I could meet, among others, H. W. Bailey, D. R. Shackelton Bailey, Smith, L. Petech, Schöhl, Dupont, Christopher, and Kramer.

Besides the Indology section I tried to attend the proceedings also of some other sections, such as those dealing with Ancient Orient, East Asia, Central Asia, and Iranian Studies. One of the interesting papers presented to the East Asia section was "From Mergui to Singapore". In this paper, Prof. Hall dealt with the struggle for naval supremacy in the seas of South-East Asia in the 19th century. The author significantly characterised this struggle as a neglected chapter in the history of the Indian ocean.

6. *Meetings of the General Assembly*

Apart from the sectional meetings, there were three sessions of the General Assembly, all of which I was able to attend. The first session, which was held on the 17th September, was presided over by Prof. Massignon and was exclusively devoted to Islamic Studies. Prof. M. Nizamuddin read a paper on "The need for the collaboration of Eastern and Western scholars in the scheme for editing and publishing of rare and important classical works in Arabic and Persian." This was followed by two other papers, namely, "Kritische Geschichtsauffassung in der islamischen Welt des Mittelalters" by Prof. Zeki Velidi Togan, and "La sociologie de l'Islam" by Prof. J. H. Kramers. The second session of the General Assembly was held on the 19th September and was presided over by Prof. Goetze. Three papers were read at this session: (1) "Orient und Occident in der ersten Hälfte des ersten Jahrtausends v. C." by Prof. Akurgal; (2) "La politique assyrienne au IXeme siécle a. C." by Prof. Goossens; and (3) "Some characteristic features of Indian culture" by Prof. R. C. Majumdar. There was also a discourse by Prof. Duyvendak. In his paper, Dr. Majumdar first referred to the work on the History of Mankind planned by the UNESCO, and then proceeded to enumerate the characteristic features of the various aspects of the cultural life of India. For instance, he adverted to the characteristic features of Indian religion, such as, the predominance of the spiritual over the material and the frank recognition of difference between man and man; of Indian society, such as, the caste-system; and of Indian state, such as, the denial of legislative function to it and its all-embracing character. The motive force in an Indian's life, according to Dr. Majumdar, was his sense of duty rather than his assertion of right. He further emphasized that it was wrong to suppose that the material side of

life was altogether neglected in India or that there did not exist any freedom of thought. The attitude of the Indians towards foreigners, continued Dr. Majumdar, had always been catholic; it was only after the advent of the Muslims that it tended to become exclusive. The third session of the General Assembly, which was held on the 21st September, was a sort of business meeting. Prof. H. A. R. Gibb of Oxford presided over this meeting. Various resolutions were formally proposed, discussed, and passed. These resolutions were originally drafted by the different committees appointed at the opening session. They were then considered by the International Consultative Committee and forwarded to the General Assembly. Among the resolutions finally passed by the General Assembly were those relating to the International Union of Orientalists,[29] the Grundriss of Turcology, the Scientific Collaboration in Islamic

[29] The resolution regarding the International Union of Orientalists is of a very far-reaching significance. As mentioned in the Draft Statutes adopted at the Istanbul Congress, the International Union of Orientalists will have as its objects : (a) to establish a permanent association between scholars who specialize in the Eastern civilizations in the widest sense and in all parts of the world; (b) to coordinate the issue of information relating to this field of studies; (c) to maintain liaison with the Organizing Committees of the International Congresses of Orientalists, and to foster international meetings ; (d) to assist in the organization of research, publications and other works and to sustain all other activities designed to further the progress of orientalist studies and scientific relations between the Eastern countries and other parts of the world. The Statutes also refer to the Organization, Seat (which will be Leiden in Holland), Legal Status, Organs etc. of the Union. A provisional committee, consisting of Prof. Duyvendak (Leiden)— President, Prof. Filliozat (Paris)— Secretary-General, Prof. Gibb (Oxford)— Assistant Secretary, and Prof. Goetze (New Haven, U. S. A.), Prof. Majumdar (Banaras), Prof. Scheel (Mainz), and Prof. Togan (Istanbul)— Members, was appointed by the Istanbul International Congress to organize the Union. The Secretaries were asked to contact the representative Oriental Institutions in different countries and seek their cooperation. Prof. Gibb accordingly wrote to me, as the General Secretary of the All India Oriental Conference, asking me to have the proposal regarding the Union considered by the Conference. His communication reached me just before the closing of the Lucknow session of the All India Oriental Conference, which was held only a few days after the Istanbul International Congress, and, therefore, could not then be adequately dealt with. The Executive Committee of the Conference has, however, appointed a sub-committee, consisting of Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Prof. S. K. Belvalkar, Prof. R. C. Majumdar, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, and myself as convener, to examine and report on the proposal.

Studies, the Annual Bibliography of Oriental Studies, and the Sanskrit Dictionary.[30]

7. *Closing Session*

The closing session of the International Congress of Orientalists was held on Saturday, the 22nd September, 1951, Prof. Zeki Velidi Togan presiding. In his brief address, the President recapitulated the work, which the Congress was able to accomplish during its Istanbul session, and emphasized the importance of the various resolutions passed by the General Assembly. He concluded by expressing the hope that, since a permanent body like the International Union of Orientalists was now being brought into existence, active steps would be taken to implement those resolutions. In the end he announced that the International Consultative Committee had accepted the invitation of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland to hold the twenty-third International Congress of Orientalists in England.[31] The next Congress will accordingly be held in 1954 either at London or at Cambridge. Finally, on behalf of the delegates, Prof. Massignon proposed a vote of thanks to the Organizing Committee of the Istanbul Congress, after which Prof. Togan formally dissolved the twenty-second International Congress of Orientalists.

8. *Receptions and Social Functions*

With a view to affording the large number of delegates, who attended the Istanbul Congress, opportunities to come together and develop social contacts, the authorities of the Istanbul University had arranged two receptions— one on the 16th September in the gorgeous central hall of the University, and the other on the 21st September in the student's canteen. On the 19th September, the Vali (Governor and Mayor) of Istanbul had invited all the delegates of the Congress to a buffet dinner-party in the beautiful gardens of

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30 The resolution concerning the Sanskrit Dictionary, which was formally moved by Dr. Kane, recommended that great literary project to the UNESCO for substantial subvention.

31 This was the only invitation received this time. I am of the opinion that, even at Istanbul, India should have repeated her invitation (which could not be accepted at Paris).

the Municipality.[32] The Organizing Committee had also arranged two very interesting programmes for the entertainment of the guests — one of Turkish music [33] and the other of Turkish folk-dances.

9. *Archaeology in Turkey: Museums, Mosques etc.: Exhibitions*

For her size Turkey must be said to be exceedingly rich from the archaeological point of view. And, in view of the many significant historical vicissitudes through which this region has passed, this is perfectly understandable. The priceless monuments and relics of bygone civilisations found in Anatolia date as far back as 6,000 years ago. In chronological order, starting from the Stone and Copper Ages, the civilisations may be enumerated as follows: the Hittite civilisation and, contemporary with it, but perhaps of a shorter duration, the Hurri-Mitanni and Urartu civilisations, followed by the Phrygian civilisation and the Lydian civilisation, which was an eclectic compound of Asiatic and Aegean cultures. This period was followed by the Ionian civilisation (700 B. C.), which was superseded by the Byzantine civilisation a thousand years later, after passing through distinctive Greek and Roman phases. Finally, early in the thirteenth century A. D., came the Turkish civilisation. Of particular interest to me, however, were the archaeological remains of the Hittite-Mitanni period. It is now generally recognised that the Hittite and the Mitannian languages are closely related to the Indo-European group of languages. Their study is, therefore, of prime importance to every student of Indo-European linguistics. But of a more direct interest from the point of view of the cultural

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32 His Excellency Shri C. S. Jha, the Indian Ambassador in Turkey, and Shrimati Jha were in residence at Istanbul for a couple of days during the Congress. They were kind enough to invite the Indian delegates twice to dinner. On both occasions, all of us spent some very pleasant hours in their charming company at their beautiful villa on the Bosphorus. Shri Jansen, the Press Attaché to the Indian Embassy at Istanbul, and Shrimati Jansen had also invited us to dinner. Mr. A. Clopstock, of Shri Jansen's staff, was always at our disposal to help and guide us, whenever necessary, during our sojourn in Turkey.

33 A short note on Turkish music giving in a nutshell the main features of its theory and practice was distributed to the delegates at this programme. To a person like myself, who cannot claim to be an expert in music, the Turkish music appeared to have great similarity with the South Indian music. One of their musical instruments, called 'tanbur', was just like our 'sitar'.

history of ancient India is the tablet discovered at Boghazkői in 1907 by Hugo Winckler. This tablet contains an inscription relating to the treaty, which was concluded in the fourteenth century B. C. between Subbililiuma, the king of the Hittites, and Mattiuaza, the king of Mitanni. As witnesses to this treaty are invoked gods, who are presumably identical with the Vedic gods — Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and Näsatyas.[31] After the termination of the Istanbul Congress, the Organizing Committee had made arrangements to take the delegates on excursions in Anatolia. I had very much wanted to visit places like Boghazkői, Kayseri, Kültepe etc. But, in view of the sixteenth session of the All India Oriental Conference, which was to be held at Lucknow from the 3rd to the 5th of October, and which it was absolutely necessary for me to attend, I had to give up the idea of participating in any of the excursions. It was, however, a great consolation for me to find that quite a large amount of valuable material derived from the excavations, which were carried out at various imporant cites in ancient Anatolia, was now deposited in the Museum of Ancient Orient in Istanbul. We paid a visit to this huge Museum and spent a few thrilling hours in inspecting the wonderful archaeological finds relating to the Assyrian, Hittite-Mittanian, and subsequent periods in the history of Ancient Orient.

In the adjoining Museum of Antiquities were to be seen sarcophagi, and Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Egyptian sculptures and antiquities. There is also, in that museum, a fine collection of antique glass and porcelain ceramics. The ancient palace of the Sultans of Turkey (whose construction was begun in 1458) is now transformed into a museum by the Republican Government. It is generally known as the Museum of Topkapou Saray and the Treasure and has now become one of the most interesting places in Istanbul. There are exhibited in this museum very beautiful potteries and tiles, made by the Ottomans at Nicea and Kütahya, as also costumes, clothing, furs, and a variety of other things, such as jewels, tesbihs, carpets, etc., which belonged to the Sultans. Personal weapons of the Sultans and porcelains from the imperial collection are exhibited in two separate wings.

31 I have elsewhere discussed, at some length, the Hittite problem and the problem relating to the gods mentioned on the Boghazkői tablet. *vide*: *PIHC* X, 1947, 24-55.

Among other places of interest, which we visited, were the Mosque of St. Sophia (the beautiful antique mosaics adorning whose internal walls have been recently uncovered and constitute the purest masterpiece of Byzantine art), the Mosque of Sultan Ahmed (with its six minarets), the Mosque of Suleiman (which is well known for its harmonious architectural shape), the column of Constantine, the Castle of Seven Towers, the Saraglio Point, and the Statue of Ata Türk. One of the most delightful and unforgettable experiences during our sojourn in Istanbul was, however, the excursion up the Bosphorus.[35]

Several special exhibitions were organized at Istanbul in connection with the International Congress. The Exhibition of Anatolian Women's Costumes and Handiwork was interesting in several respects. Since the Republic came into existence, the dress of the Turkish people — both men and women — has been completely europeanised. It is, therefore, difficult even to imagine how the Turkish people must have dressed before the Republic. This exhibition gave one an idea about the costumes used by the Turkish women in earlier times.[36] Then there were exhibitions of manuscripts (mostly Arabic), of select documents from the State Archives, of oriental books, of photographs, inscriptions, and samples from the Academy of Fine Arts, and of the work of the Turkish Translation Bureau.

10. *Conclusion*

The twenty-second International Congress of Orientalists held at Istanbul must be said to have been a great success from several

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35 Incidentally it may be mentioned that, on my return flight to India, I had to stop at Beirut (the Capital of Lebanon) for more than twelve hours. I utilised this time in a visit to Byblos (about 18 miles to the north of Beirut) where is to be seen a completely excavated necropolis, the most impressive ruin of a civilisation even older than the Egyptian. Beirut itself was one of the distinguished seats of learning of the Roman Empire and an important centre of early Christianity. The town was destroyed in 140 B. C. and rebuilt in the reign of Augustus. The legend of St. George and the Dragon is centred in Beirut, and it is claimed that St. George killed the monster in the city itself. In recent years, an impressive building is constructed at Beirut as the headquarters of the UNESCO.

36 Among the Orientals, the Indian women seem to be most conservative in the matter of changing the basic mode of their dress. Their sisters in Turkey and several other countries in the Middle East have, on the other hand, freely taken to European skirt.

points of view. Scientific collaboration between scholars of the Orient and the Occident was the watchword of this Congress. It is indeed gratifying that such collaboration already exists in India and has proved and is still proving very friutful in connection with some literary projects initiated in this country. The Istanbul Congress also helped to emphasize once again the great importance of the study of Anatolian antiquities. While reporting on the twenty-first International Congress I had attempted a sort of comparative estimate, in broad outlines, of oriental research in India and the West.[37] Most of the views, which I had expressed in that connection, were confirmed by my experience at the Istanbul Congress. One of the most significant facts which struck me was that we, orientalists in India, do not find for ourselves new fields for investigation and research. We limit our scope only to Indological studies — and, there too, only to certain common aspects of those studies — thus ignoring, more or less completely, other branches of Orientology. It certainly does Indian scholarship no credit that there should not be a single paper contributed by an Indian to — say — the Far East section, or the Ancient Orient section, or the Central Asia section, or even the Iranology section.[38] It is time that some of us take up seriously and enthusiastically to the study of and research in these allied fields. As a beginning in

[37] *ABORI* XXIX, pp. i-xxvi.

[38] It must be pointed out, in this connection, that our colleague, Dr. M. Z. Siddiqi, presented two papers at the Islamic Studies section. In the first paper, entitled "The oldest manuscript of the Diwan of Hafiz," Dr. Siddiqi incidentally pointed out that India was the proud possessor of the earliest manuscripts of some of the important works in Arabic and Persian literature. Among such invaluable treasures is the manuscript of the Diwan of Hafiz preserved in the library of Shah Shahid Ali of Gorakpur in U. P. (In the discussion on this paper, it was pointed out that four earlier manuscripts of the work were extant in the libraries of Istanbul. They were, however, not known to the world. Besides, on examining these manuscripts, Dr. Siddiqi found that they were not complete. The manuscript preserved in India must, therefore, be regarded as the oldest known complete manuscript of the Diwan). Dr. Siddiqi's other paper dealt with "An unknown copy of the Kitabut-Taliquat-i-wan'-Nawadir of Abu Ali Harun b. Zakariyya al-Hajri."

this direction, I should like to suggest that the Government of India or some enterprising Indian Universities do take early steps to start and foster the study of Assyriology and Hittite archaeology and philology. A batch of young scholars should be sent out to receive adequate, scientific training in these branches of knowledge and foreign specialists in these subjects should be invited to teach in India. I have often felt that, if competent work pertaining to Soghdian records could be done at Cambridge, or if American and Danish archaeological expeditions could achieve marvellous results in Central Asia and Anatolia, there is no reason why work of similar character and standard should not be accomplished by Indian scholars individually and collectively. Nobody has ever doubted the inherent ability and capacity of Indian orientalists.

I further feel that Indian scholars must take more active part also in the organizational aspect of international Orientology. It is to be hoped that India will be adequately represented in the proposed International Union of Orientalists and will thus be given an opportunity for rendering a proper account of herself. Incidentally it may be pointed out that more positive steps ought to be taken by the Government of India through their embassies in different countries — officially as well as unofficially — to acquaint the common people in those countries with the Indian way of life and thought. An authentic picture of India — her past glory and achievements, her present problems, and her aspirations for the future — must be presented before those people in as objective a manner as possible. Indologists — both Indian and foreign — can, I believe, play a significant rôle in this respect.

It now remains for me to express my deep gratitude to the Government of Bombay, the University of Poona, the All India Oriental Conference, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, and the Somnath Sanskrit Vishva Parishad for having appointed me their delegate to the Istanbul

Congress.[19] It is my earnest prayer that I should be enabled to show through my services to the cause of Orientology, that I have benefitted by my participation in that Congress.

19 I take this opportunity of recording here, with sincere thanks, that several friends have helped me, in different ways, in connection with my recent trip to Turkey. It is not possible to mention the names of all these friends. I must not, however, fail to express my special gratitude to Dr. P. V. Kane, who has encouraged and helped me with almost paternal solicitude. The kind interest which he has been taking in me all along will ever remain an unforgettable experience in my academic career. Dr. A. D. Pusalker also has been of great help to me. Finally I must not forget to mention that my senior colleagues — Doctors Kane, Majumdar, and Siddiqi — whose genial company I was privileged to enjoy almost constantly during my stay at Istanbul, treated me with great kindness, sympathy, and affection.